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# Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 12, December 1983

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT

## VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN  
No. 12, December 1983

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

## CONTENTS

Building the Country's Defense Forces (pp 1-6) (Editorial).....	1
Strengthening Our Solidarity and Comprehensive Cooperative with the Two Fraternal Countries of Laos and Kampuchea (pp 7-11) (Unattributed article).....	8
Speech by Le Duan, General Secretary of the Vietnam Communist Party Central Committee, at the 5th Congress of the Vietnam Trade Union (pp 12-17) (Le Duan).....	14
Contribution to the Summary of the War: the Art of Seizing Opportunity (pp 18-23) (Hoang Minh Thao).....	20
The Movement in Quang Ninh To Maintain the Security of the Fatherland (pp 24-30) (Le Dai).....	27
A New Step Forward by Thai Binh in Coordinating the Economy with the National Defense System (pp 31-36) (Thien Nhan).....	36
Continuing To Promote the Campaign to "Display the Fine Nature and Increase the Fighting Strength" of the People's Armed Forces (pp 37-40) (Unattributed article).....	43
Striving To Usher in a New Period in the Development of Our Press (pp 41-46) (Unattributed article).....	48

The Progress Made by Dac Lac Province (pp 47-52) (Y Ngong Niek Dam).....	56
Agricultural Cooperativization in Nghia Binh (pp 53-59, 83) (To Dinh Co).....	64
Abolishing Exploitation Through Cropland (pp 60-62, 67) (Huu Hanh).....	73
The Victories in Agricultural Production for the Fraternal People of Laos (pp 63-67) (Thanh Son).....	78
The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the Vanguard Unit of the Working Class and People of Kampuchea (pp 68-83) (To Quyen).....	84
A New Tragedy Is Befalling the People of China (pp 84-86, 88) (Le Tinh).....	104
A Look at the Situation in France: Are Leftwing Forces Controlling Political Power or Is Political Power Controlling Leftwing Forces (pp 87-88) (Phuong Son).....	108

## BUILDING THE COUNTRY'S DEFENSE FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 1-6

[Editorial]

[Text] During the past 8 years and more, our army and people, under the leadership of the party, have recorded many achievements in their work of strengthening the national defense system, building the armed forces and defending the fatherland. We won victory over the two wars of aggression unleashed by the Chinese reactionaries and hegemonists and their lackeys on the southwestern border and the northern border. Displaying the noble spirit of proletarian internationalism, we helped the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea win large victories in their fights against the imperialists, the expansionists and hegemonists, other reactionaries and their lackeys, thereby winning and firmly maintaining their national independence. We have gradually built a regular force and modern people's army. We have built up the army while fighting and maintaining our readiness to fight against the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. Our army has participated in economic construction and made positive contributions to socialist construction in our country.

However, we are still experiencing some shortcomings in the work of building the army and strengthening our national defense system: some cadres and party members are not truly vigilant against the new enemy of our people; appropriate attention has not been given to political and ideological work; the management of the army is not tight; there is a lack of concrete plans for the army's participation in economic construction; and there are still shortcomings in the policies regarding cadres and troops as well as the army's rear area policies.

Some of the shortcomings described above are the result of the country's objective situation: its backward economy was heavily damaged in the long war; in the advance from small-scale production to socialism, we are encountering many difficulties with the economy and living conditions; our army has experience in fighting the enemy but lacks experience in economic construction; and economic difficulties and negative phenomena in society have exerted their influence within the army. On the other hand, we have also

committed shortcomings of our own, such as the lack of a comprehensive viewpoint in the buildup of the army and the strengthening of the national defense system; the lack of timeliness and sensitivity in political and ideological work; and the failure on the part of the different levels and sectors to realize their full responsibility in building up the army and strengthening the national defense system.

At present, our country is in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists; at the same time, we must be ready to deal with a situation in which the enemy could unleash a large-scale war of aggression. Our entire party and all our people have two strategic tasks: successfully building socialism while maintaining combat readiness and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

The world situation is now very tense as a result of the reactionary and bellicose policy of the U.S. imperialists. Having launched an "anti-communist crusade," the Reagan administration is now promoting the nuclear arms race while committing armed intervention and aggression at many places, provoking regional wars, wars fought through others, and fiercely opposing the three revolutionary currents in the world. The U.S. imperialists are strengthening their alliances with the Japanese militarists and the South Korean reactionaries and collaborating with the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, thereby seriously threatening peace and stability in Asia, the Pacific and the world.

The reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles are plotting to expand into Southeast Asia. In Southeast Asia, the primary antagonism at this time is the antagonism between national independence and socialism, on the one hand, and the expansionism and hegemony of China, which is collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers. Indochina is one of the areas of sharpest struggle in the world today.

The Chinese reactionaries consider a totally independent, united Vietnam that is advancing toward socialism to be the main obstacle to their expansion into Southeast Asia. They are looking for every way to weaken and annex Vietnam. Despite suffering disgraceful defeats in the two wars of aggression against our country on the southwestern and northern borders, the Chinese reactionaries still have not abandoned their plans to invade our country. Having suffered one defeat after another and facing towering difficulties, the Chinese reactionaries have been forced to change tactics in their foreign relations with many countries of the world but the strategy and tactics of China toward our country have not changed, rather, they have become even more hostile. The policy of the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles toward Vietnam and Indochina has become a more cunning and dangerous policy.

Following their heavy defeat in Vietnam, which forced them to withdraw from Indochina, the U.S. imperialists also withdrew their forces from Thailand; however, after the traitors in Beijing launched their war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists quickly put into action a plan to return to Southeast Asia, return to Indochina. China and the United States

are collaborating with each other in a scheme to commit aggression against Vietnam and Indochina.

Our entire party, our entire army and all our people must clearly understand the country's situation, display a high spirit of revolutionary vigilance and make every effort to strengthen the national defense system, build our armed forces and defend the fatherland.

Although the struggle for independence was a difficult one, the fight to maintain the independence we won is even more difficult. The independence of a country is only of value when the people of that country possess the forces needed to protect their independence. Vietnam not only possesses a fine tradition of struggling to liberate the nation, but also possesses a fine tradition of fighting to defend the fatherland. Whereas the Trung Sisters, Mrs. Trieu, Ly Bon and Le Loi are bright examples of fighting a war to liberate the nation, Le Hoan, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Quoc Tuan and Nguyen Hue are glorious examples of fighting to defend the fatherland. Carrying on our forefathers' fine tradition of tenaciously fighting to defend the fatherland, our army and people are vigilantly building their forces, are fighting and maintaining combat readiness, are firmly maintaining the independence that our people only won through untold efforts and bloodshed.

The task of defending the fatherland demands that we build up our forces to insure that we can victoriously deal with any war situation that might occur. In order to perform this task well, we must begin making preparations immediately and must continue to make preparations over a long period of time. We must be strong both militarily and economically in order to be able to firmly safeguard peace and win victory over the enemy should they recklessly unleash a war. The political report presented by Le Duan at the 5th Congress of the Party pointed out: "The task of maintaining our readiness to fight in defense of the fatherland demands that we always be vigilant against the schemes and acts of war of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles and the bellicose imperialist powers, demands that we motivate our entire party, all our people and our entire army to make the greatest possible efforts, determined to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy while insuring that the country is always ready, always possesses the strength needed to win victory over the enemy in any situation."

Should the enemy recklessly unleash a war of aggression against our country, we must defeat them by waging a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland. This is a just war of self-defense, a revolutionary war of a popular, comprehensive and modern nature. Our people's war to defend the socialist fatherland is based on the strength of the system of socialist collective mastery, the strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat, the strength of the national defense system and the strength of the people's armed forces. It is a war in which armed struggle is closely coordinated with the political, security, economic and diplomatic struggles in order to achieve a tremendous strength with which to defend the country. In this war, we combine the strength of the nation with the strength of the special alliance among the three countries of Indochina and the strength of the three revolutionary currents of our times in order to defeat the enemy and win victory for the cause of defending the socialist fatherland, defending the

three countries of Indochina, thereby helping to safeguard peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

In a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland, we must always take the initiative, be the masters of the country and be the masters of the battlefield as well in order to annihilate the enemy; we must annihilate the enemy in order to be the masters of the country and the masters of the battlefield. The strength of each locality must be coordinated with the strength of the entire country, the strength of the unit, the collective must be coordinated with the strength of each person. Every village, every cooperative, every enterprise, every district is a fortress, every province and city is a battlefield, the three countries of Indochina are one battlefield.

The three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea share a common territory and have close relations. Their history of uniting against foreign aggression has closely linked the three fraternal peoples living on the Indochina peninsula to one another. Each time foreign aggressors have launched wars of aggression, from the French colonialists, the Japanese fascists and the U.S. imperialists to the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, they have fought their wars in all countries of Indochina, excluding none. In the fight against aggression, the people's of the three countries of Indochina have closely united with one another. That "Indochina is one battlefield" is a law. By firmly adhering to this law, the peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea won victory together in the war of national liberation. By firmly adhering to this law, the peoples of the three countries will surely win victory in a war to defend the fatherland.

Our comprehensive and modern national defense system is based on continuously solidifying and strengthening the system of collective mastery of the working people in every respect. Therefore, it is necessary to care for the material and cultural lives of the people, maintain political security and social order and safety, strengthen the political and spiritual unanimity of the people and build stronger solidarity among the nationalities and between the army and the people.

The cause of defending the fatherland demands that we build the people's armed forces in accordance with the viewpoint of the people's war and a national defense system consisting of all the people; our armed forces must consist of the main force army and local army, their structure must be well balanced and well coordinated between standing forces and reserve forces, they must possess the necessary size and their quality must be constantly improved. Full importance must be attached to building strong militia and self-defense forces. The elements of the military that form its mobile forces and stationary forces must be closely linked to insure that we can always take the initiative and launch strong attacks. The entire country and each locality must always be prepared and always be able to take the initiative in every situation. The provinces along the northern border and the provinces of the Central Highlands must be developed into provinces that have good defense systems, are politically stable, are economically and culturally developed, possess strong people's armed forces and have the ability to provide local rear service support.

In our buildup of the army, we must adopt a comprehensive point of view; importance must be attached to building our main force troop units while building the local army and the militia; attention must be given to building our standing forces as well as to building our reserve forces. The way that we build a regular force and modern army must be consistent with the country's situation; we must respect the experiences of Vietnam and apply them well in the new situation. In peace time, we must prepare the country for war time, must raise national defense consciousness and build rear areas that are strong and solid in every respect to insure that victory is won in war. President Ho taught: "Be it peace time or war time, we must seize the initiative, look ahead and make preparations in advance." May our entire party, our entire army and all our people commit this teaching of President Ho to memory in order to do a good job of strengthening the national defense system, building the armed forces and defending the fatherland.

Coordinating the economy with the national defense system and vice versa is a very important part of our party's economic line. It is a very important kind of work, one designed to successfully carry out both tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland. We must concern ourselves with stabilizing and improving the economic situation and the living conditions of the people while concerning ourselves with building the country's defense forces. The economy and the national defense system are similar in some respects and dissimilar in others. A strong economy is the basis for creating a strong national defense system; a strong national defense system is a firm guarantee of economic development. However, the economy operates under economic laws and the national defense system operates under national defense laws. Economic activities must not only adhere to economic laws, they are also under the control of national defense requirements. National defense activities must comply with the laws of national defense and, at the same time, take the requirements of economic development into consideration. We must coordinate the economy with the national defense system and vice versa in accordance with basic, long-range guidelines; at the same time, we must predict what will happen so that we can make prompt and suitable adjustments when changes occur and insure victory over the enemy. We must adopt plans for mobilizing the national economy and preparing for a fight against a war of aggression.

The system of socialist collective mastery insures us of the ability to effectively coordinate the economy with the national defense system, coordinate the national defense system with the economy. Economic zoning, the redistribution of labor, the redistribution of production forces, the building of the economic and technical sectors, local economic development and so forth must fully reflect the guideline of coordinating the economy with the national defense system in order to strengthen the country economically, politically and militarily, establish a single strategic deployment, build the battle position of a people's war and become the masters of the economy and the national defense system throughout the country, within each locality and at each installation. We must gradually develop the national defense industry in conjunction with strengthening the country's economic potentials. These are the factors that create the combined strength employed in the defense of the fatherland.

Both the central economy and the local economy must be able to fully and promptly meet the regular needs for technical materials and the cultural needs of the armed forces and must provide the local rear services needed for the defense of the country.

Participating in economic construction is an extremely important task of the armed forces. While constantly improving their ability to fight and raising their level of combat readiness, the armed forces must organize for units the conditions needed to engage in production so that they can meet some of their own needs; at the same time, they must gain the participation of the national defense industry in suitable economic activities and utilize some forces in the construction of a number of different projects. When participating in economic construction, the army must study and learn both technology and management so that it can achieve high productivity, high quality and high efficiency. Our national defense system is a national defense system of all the people; our war to defend the fatherland is a people's war. Every person and every sector that is engaged in economic work must know more than what their work requires, they must also concern themselves with national defense. The army and national defense workers and personnel cannot simply know how to perform national defense work, they must also attach importance to economic development.

The nation of Vietnam has long had experience in coordinating economic construction with the defense of the country. "A soldier in time of war, a citizen in peace time," serving as a combat soldier in time of war and a production worker in time of peace, these are valuable experiences of the Vietnamese, of a nation that has had to continuously fight the aggressors of China, a country many times larger than ours in territory and population. Today, to uphold this fine tradition of the nation, we must carry out both strategic tasks of building and defending the fatherland well, meet both the requirements of the economy and the national defense system well and support the goal of making both the economy and the national defense system strong.

The coordinating of the economy with the national defense system is achieved through the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise collective mastery and the state manages." Each person, each sector and the entire country is the master of economic development and the strengthening of the national defense system.

In keeping with the party's line on the socialist revolution, its line on building the socialist economy and its military line, our entire party, our entire army and all our people must display a high spirit of self-reliance and successfully coordinate the economy with the national defense system, the national defense system with the economy. Those persons who are engaged in economic work must have a deep understanding of the economy and be the masters of labor, arable land, natural resources and material-technical bases; at the same time, they must possess the necessary knowledge of military affairs, of a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland. Persons who are engaged in military work must have a deep understanding of military affairs but must also possess the necessary knowledge of the economy, economic management, cost accounting and socialist business procedures. The distribution of labor must be coordinated with the distribution of combat forces. The building of

economic zones must be coordinated with the building of combat bases, defense lines and battlefields. We must build provinces that have an industrial-agricultural economic structure and are strategic units of the national defense system and people's war. We must build districts that have an agro-industrial economic structure and are military fortresses. We must build villages, cooperatives and enterprises that are skilled production units and a strong combat unit. Every unit, every locality and every sector must display the spirit of collective mastery, coordinate the economy with the national defense system, the national defense system with the economy, strengthen its economic and national defense potentials and be ready to quickly mobilize a combat force to fight foreign aggression and firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Defending the fatherland is the sacred obligation of every citizen. As a citizen of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, everyone has the obligation of making a positive contribution to the strengthening of the national defense system, the buildup of the people's armed forces and the defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

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## STRENGTHENING OUR SOLIDARITY AND COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION WITH THE TWO FRATERNAL COUNTRIES OF LAOS AND KAMPUCHEA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 7-11

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The Indochina peninsula occupies an especially important strategic position in Southeast Asia. In the past, the three countries of Indochina assisted one another in the fight to achieve liberation and win independence and freedom. Therefore, the assistance among the three countries at that time was primarily in the form of military assistance. The several times that Vietnamese volunteer forces travelled up the Mekong River or across the Truong Son Mountain Range to assist our friends in resisting foreign aggression were just acts supported and praised by progressive public opinion in the world. Today, the peoples of the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are continuing to stand shoulder to shoulder in the struggle against the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers; at the same time, they are ready to deal with their scheme of launching a large-scale war of aggression. Since winning their independence, the three countries of Indochina have followed the course of socialist construction; the revolutions of the three countries have entered a new stage, the stage of simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks: building the country and maintaining its independence and freedom. This fact was confirmed at the congresses of the Vietnam Communist Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party. This new situation has faced our party and our people with a new task in our relations with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. It is the task of shifting from primarily military and defense assistance to mutual, comprehensive assistance in all fields. The 5th Congress of our party defined this task as follows: "From one generation to another, our people must preserve the pure friendship and traditional solidarity among the three nations and constantly solidify and strengthen the special relations and the militant alliance among the three countries... On the basis of the principles of respecting one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, respecting one another's legitimate interests, practicing equality with one another and trusting one another, we always do our very best to fulfill our international obligation to the two fraternal countries; at the same time, we closely

coordinate with these two countries and assist one another in every way possible in order to support the strengthening of the national defense and security systems, the economic construction and the cultural development of each country more effectively with each passing day."(1)

The conferees at the 1st High Level Conference of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea held in Vientiane in February, 1983 unanimously agreed that "the new situation and tasks demand that the peoples of the three countries strengthen their solidarity and their comprehensive cooperation with one another." The Vientiane high level conference also set forth principles to guide the relations among the three countries.

To insure the successful performance of the task set forth by the 5th Congress of our party and the agreements reached at the 1st High Level Conference of the three countries, we must have a full and thorough understanding of the following important matters:

First, as we have in the past, our party and people will always display a high and pure spirit of proletarian internationalism, consider the revolutionary undertakings of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea to be their own, volunteer to help, take the initiative and wholeheartedly fulfill their weighty responsibility. Every action that we take must fully reflect our party's viewpoint that "helping our friends is helping ourselves" because, the revolutionary achievements that we recorded in past years are recording now and will record in the future involved and will involve valuable, irreplaceable contributions by the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. All sectors, levels and localities must give the international obligation that they must fulfill utmost priority, create the most favorable condition possible for the fulfillment of their international obligation and do so with the highest possible sense of responsibility and in the manner that reflects the best possible quality. In our relations of international cooperation, we absolutely must eliminate all selfish thinking. We must give our friends the easy jobs to perform, take the difficult jobs for ourselves and perform concrete, practical work in order to maintain their confidence. Every job that we perform in our relations with our friends embodies the rudiments of its own failure if it is not performed in the pure international spirit. Secondly, there must be close coordination in terms of revolutionary lines and strategies between our party and the fraternal parties, considering this to be one of the basic prerequisites determining the victory of each country's revolution, to be the firm base for strengthening the militant solidarity among the three countries.

At present, the Vietnam Communist Party as well as the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea are ruling parties. These three proletarian parties are the factors determining the victory of each country's revolution. The unity among the three political parties of the three countries is the factor determining the success of the solidarity and cooperation among our three nations. We have the responsibility of preserving the long-standing tradition of solidarity among the three political parties, regardless of how many more difficulties and obstacles must be overcome. In our relations with our friends, we must always reach consensus through negotiations as equal partners. To those

persons who are fulfilling their international obligation, there is no greater honor than to have the respect and trust of our friends. The high level conference of the three countries of Indochina held in February, 1983, pointed out the need to teach the people of each country to avoid big country nationalism as well as narrowminded nationalism.

Thirdly, in the new stage, the comprehensive development of the revolution demands that each country build revolutionary forces that are strong and solid in every respect, beginning by building a strong and solid vanguard unit of the working class. Whether the revolutionary achievements recorded by the three nations over the past half century and more are preserved; whether the socialist construction being carried out in the three countries develops; whether or not the peaceful labor and lives of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are protected; and whether or not each danger posed by an enemy many times larger than we, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who are collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and every reactionary within the region, is repulsed and thwarted--the answers to all of these questions depend upon the overall growth of the revolution of the three countries, primarily the growth of their leading parties. Of the many jobs that must be performed, this is the most important as regards the solidarity and cooperation between ourselves and our friends.

Fourthly, we must develop comprehensive and close cooperation among the three countries in the fields of politics, military affairs, economics, culture and other areas, among which economic and cultural cooperation are an extremely important field because they lay the foundation for strengthening the long-standing solidarity of a strategic nature among the three countries.

Politically, we must maintain the high level contacts among the three parties on the basis of international law and consensus among the three parties and the three states in order to negotiate solutions to issues of major importance related to the common undertaking of the three countries.

In our relations regarding the exchange of cadres and specialists, we must meet each requirement as best possible and send to our friends outstanding specialists and cadres who possess good personal qualities, are competent and possess revolutionary zeal.

At present, cooperation among the three countries is taking place not only on the central level, but has also developed to all sectors, localities, mass organizations and other organizations. This expansion is consistent with the comprehensive development needs of each country. We must continue to strengthen this cooperation but we must also attach importance to achieving practical results and avoid falling into cooperating merely for the sake of cooperating.

As regards national defense and the maintenance of security, we must continue to cooperate with and assist one another in the area of defense on the basis of the treaties and agreements among the three states with a view toward firmly protecting the peaceful labor of the peoples of the three countries.

On the basis of an agreement reached between ourselves and Kampuchea, some of the Vietnamese voluntary forces in Kampuchea will be withdrawn each year and these forces will be completely withdrawn once the threat posed by the Chinese reactionaries collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the reactionaries within the ruling circles of Thailand no longer exists. From this point onward, the national defense and security forces of Kampuchea will gradually undertake the task of defending their fatherland and maintaining security. We have absolute confidence that, under the correct leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and in view of the tradition of heroic and unyielding struggle, the army and people of Kampuchea will surely complete this sacred task well. As for ourselves, we will do everything possible to carry out the process mentioned above in a manner consistent with objective demands.

In the field of culture, we must make every effort in the years ahead to cooperate with our friends for the purpose of carrying out cultural development and establishing a national and socialist culture that is rich and diverse.

To successfully cooperate with our friends in the fields of culture and education, we must do a good job of propagandizing and teaching international consciousness to our cadres and people. Every cadre and party member has the responsibility of studying and gaining a deep understanding of the country, the culture, society, the people, the history and the traditions and experiences in revolutionary struggle of the people of Laos and the people of Kampuchea. In this way, they will develop an increasingly deep feeling of friendship, solidarity and closeness with the people of the two fraternal countries. To accomplish this, we must gradually incorporate the study of the Lao and Cambodian languages in the curricula of the general schools and colleges and consider learning the languages of our friends to be a pressing task. At the same time, we must increase our cooperation and exchanges with our friends in the fields of culture, art, physical education, sports, tourism, public health, the press and so forth.

Economically, we must consider economic and scientific-technical cooperation among the three countries to be a matter of great importance. All three countries of Indochina are developing countries that have backward economies and recently emerged from a long war, countries whose people still live under very difficult conditions. Compared to the advanced levels of development in the world, the three countries of Indochina are still underdeveloped in many respects and still require assistance in many different fields from the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the international community. However, the three countries of Indochina share a basic political unanimity, are close geographically and understand and accept each other's cultural traditions and social customs. These are basic advantages in the cooperation among the three countries. As regards our levels of development, although generally low, there are differences among the three countries and each country has its own strengths. Therefore, we can and must support and supplement one another, can and must cooperate and help one another develop the strengths of each, help one another meet the pressing needs of production and everyday life. At the same time, we can, in this way, help one another overcome the weaknesses of each country and cause the economy of each country to develop in a wholesome

manner and meet the rising needs involved in building and defending the country.

The economic cooperation among the three countries of Indochina is based on entirely voluntary efforts, equality, mutual benefit and giving one another priority and preferential status. In content, this cooperation must be practical, positive, of high quality, effective, selective and stable. In form, it is primarily bilateral cooperation but will gradually develop into trilateral cooperation in necessary fields where cooperation can be achieved. As regards the order in which cooperation will develop, we are proceeding from cooperation in specific jobs to the coordination of development plans, from cooperation between central sectors to cooperation between localities and the coordination of economic construction with the strengthening of national defense systems and the maintenance of order and security. We must also cooperate with our friends for the purposes of combating the enemy's embargo, their economic sabotage and their disruption of the market and the monetary system, combating profiteering and smuggling...

The cooperation among the three countries never excludes or replaces the cooperation of each country of Indochina with countries outside the Indochina peninsula, including the capitalist countries. One important principle in the cooperation among the three countries of Indochina is respecting the sovereignty of each country with regard to establishing the lines and plans for economic and cultural development as well as establishing relations of international cooperation. In the final analysis, the strengthening of the comprehensive cooperation among the three countries of Indochina is designed to provide favorable conditions for each country to develop its own broad relations in the field of international cooperation. In particular, the comprehensive cooperation among the three countries of Indochina and the comprehensive cooperation between the three countries of Indochina and the Soviet Union and other countries within the socialist community are two processes that are never contradictory, to the contrary, they are carried out together and supplement and support each other.

Strengthening our solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with Laos and Kampuchea in the present stage is of more important significance than every before. Our entire party and all our people must clearly recognize this fact. All sectors, organizations and localities that have relations with our friends must insure that the commitments made to our friends are fulfilled.

We must improve and insure the good implementation of the regulations and policies regarding the cadres and students of our friends who are in our country.

Our cadres and soldiers who are sent to perform tasks in one of these friendly countries must realize that even if they could trade what they are doing for a fortune in gold, there is no greater honor than helping the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, than helping these nations who have fought with untold heroism, endured countless hardships and sacrifices and still must vigilantly guard their countries night and day against the cruel enemy. All Vietnamese cadres and soldiers who are on assignment in one of these friendly countries must wholeheartedly respect the sovereignty, laws, customs and habits of the

country in which they are working and firmly maintain the discipline of our party, our state and our army. Our cadres and soldiers must also share the joys and sorrows of the people of the friendly country in which they are assigned, always set examples in every job they undertake and in the way they live and sincerely unite and cooperate with the cadres and people of that friendly country.

Vietnamese cadres and soldiers must understand that they can only help our friends by humbly learning from them. Moreover, the word "learn" must be placed above the word "help." Anyone who does not attach importance to learning the experiences of our friends, learning their traditions of heroic struggle, learning their noble qualities will find it difficult to fulfill his international obligation.

Having met with defeat in their two wars of aggression against Vietnam, the largest defeat in their 30 year history of infiltrating and sabotaging the Indochina revolution, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are shifting their efforts to a wide-ranging war of sabotage against the three countries of Indochina, the leading edge of which is economic and cultural sabotage. They are looking for every way to thwart the cooperation among the three countries of Indochina. The strengthening of their comprehensive cooperation by the three countries of Indochina has enraged the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles. Their psychological warfare machinery is being mobilized to loudly proclaim that this step is being taken by Vietnam to "control" Laos and Kampuchea. They have also made up a brazen fabrication that Vietnam is sending "emigrants" to Kampuchea to change the structure of Kampuchea's population. On the other hand, they are doing their best to encourage every other reactionary power to set up an economic embargo against the three countries of Indochina. They have made the most vile of allegations in order to encourage the international community to stop assisting in the reconstruction of the three countries of Indochina. They have used local lackey forces to sabotage economic bases, monopolize the market and disrupt the economic life of each country. They have done everything possible to exhaust the three countries of Indochina in order to easily annex them. In the face of this situation, as was the case in the past, the nations on the Indochina peninsula have no other course open to them other than cooperating and helping one another survive and develop. Once again, the nations of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are brandishing the banner of solidarity and unity, determined to thwart and defeat every scheme and act of sabotage of the enemy. The three countries will never retreat from the course of cooperating with and helping one another successfully build and firmly defend socialism in accordance with the line and the specific conditions of each country, thereby making Indochina a region of peace, stability, economic prosperity and cultural development, a region whose peoples live comfortable and happy lives.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 147.

7809

CSO: 4210/17

SPEECH BY LE DUAN, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE VIETNAM TRADE UNION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 12-17

[Speech by Le Duan]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

Esteemed Guests,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, allow me to extend warm greetings to the 5th Congress of the Vietnam Trade Union.

I also have the honor and privilege of welcoming the representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the representatives of the Trade Unions of other countries who are attending this congress, bringing to us the spirit of solidarity embodied in the slogan "the proletarians from all four corners of the earth are brothers."

During the past 5 years, our country's revolution has experienced a period of decisive struggle, overcome difficulties, met challenges and won large victories. I wholeheartedly commend the working class and laborers of our country for the outstanding contributions that they have made to this glorious undertaking.

Dear Comrades,

Our country now stands before a very intense period of revolution. Our party, the working class and the laboring people of our country are undertaking a mission of great importance, successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland.

Maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective mastery of the laboring people, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions and making socialist industrialization our central task, these are the keys that our party and our country's working class must use to open the way forward and solve each of the major problems that our country's revolution faces.

Collective mastery is a force that can move mountains. In the past, we were able to win victory over powerful imperialist forces because our party firmly adhered to the vanguard thinking of the working class, adopted the correct political and military lines and mobilized the strength of mastery of the entire country. In the resistance against the United States, this strength was multiplied because our party knew how to awaken and develop upon the communal consciousness and tradition of the nation and coordinate this strength with the strength of our times, with the strength of the three currents of the world revolution, a revolution that is on the offensive.

Today, with these extremely important factors supporting them, our people will surely achieve success in the performance of their two strategic tasks in the new stage. By means of our strength as masters, by means of achieving higher quality and by using our reorganized labor force and all the arable land and material and technical bases our people have at their disposal, we must and surely will successfully carry out the task of advancing our country's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production.

As the school of socialism and communism, the Trade Unions have a very large responsibility in the struggle to transform and develop our economy and culture into a socialist economy and culture and mobilizing the manual workers and civil servants of the entire country to exercise their mastery and utilize our labor, natural resources and material-technical bases as efficiently as possible in order to develop production, reorganize distribution and circulation and stabilize and gradually improve the living conditions of the laboring people.

Socialist industrialization is the basic course that we must follow in order to create the material-technical bases of socialism and raise social labor productivity. We have made many efforts to build new projects of key significance, projects that have changed the face of the country's economy. However, we should never forget that in order to carry out industrialization, we must raise labor productivity as much as possible, even under the material and technical conditions that exist now.

From this point onward, productivity, quality and efficiency must become the daily slogan of action of each of us, of each sector, of industry as well as agriculture, of laborers and manual workers as well as farmers.

Our present labor productivity is very low. Only a little more than one-half the capacity of equipment and machinery is being utilized. Although materials are in short supply, their use is still wasteful. The products being produced are not of good quality. We must quickly correct this situation. Only by achieving higher labor productivity and performing our work better and more efficiently can we carry out expanded reproduction, improve our standard of living and accumulate the initial capital needed for socialism.

In industry, we must focus our efforts on raising the productivity, quality and efficiency of the key sectors, the coal, power, machinery, communications-transportation, capital construction and other sectors, in order to promote stronger change in the other sectors and areas of industry.

Industry must competently support agriculture, bring agriculture one step closer to large-scale socialist production and establish an efficient industrial-agricultural structure, even during this initial stage. Industry must help to redistribute and reorganize labor on a nationwide scale and coordinate labor with arable land and the trade sector so that everyone has a job, natural resources are properly developed and an increasingly large supply of products is produced. The working class must be fully aware of the role that it plays in this pressing task.

To achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency, the working class must learn and become the masters of the technical sciences. Workers must constantly improve their knowledge of cultural subjects, their occupational skills and their ability to manage. We must develop a corps of workers that consists of many skilled craftsmen and many cadres who are skilled in the technical sciences and management. The quality of production and construction, the efficiency of industry and the economy are primarily determined by this corps.

Workers must love their work, display high labor discipline and represent the new style of work. These are the foremost standards of the new, socialist man, of the collective master. Work must be performed in exact accordance with regulations and codes and all standards and quotas must be met. We must put an end to laziness, the lack of organization and the practice of doing as one sees fit on the job. Neglecting one's work, not working the required number of days or hours and doing sloppy work are crimes against the class, against the people.

Exports are a leading element that determines the rate of socialist construction and the rate at which social labor productivity is raised in our country. We must look for every way to export more goods so that we can import more new technology, more supplies and materials in order to retool the national economy, stimulate the development of agriculture and the industrial sectors and create increasingly large export capabilities. Through exports, we must raise our level of production and the quality of our products.

When talking about the economy, we are talking about production and frugality. We must practice frugality in the use of time, in the use of capital, supplies and raw materials. We must practice frugality in production and even in consumption, must endure certain difficulties in order to industrialize the country. We must make efficient use of each material factor involved in production. We must not allow 1 hour of work time to be wasted. We must not allow one tool or one machine to lie idle. We must not allow 1 quintal of iron or 1 kilogram of oil to be wasted or spilled. In the face of our present difficulties, even though there is still a shortage of supplies and raw materials, we still can and must produce much more wealth for the fatherland.

During the past few years, good models of effective, high quality operations have emerged within the socialist emulation movement in some sectors and at some production and business installations. This confirms that we can develop our economic potentials better. Each factory can rapidly increase its output and meet qualitative standards. Each worksite can maintain its rate of construction and complete its project ahead of schedule. Each production and

business installation can make efficient use of capital, solve the problem of always operating at a loss and gradually begin accumulating capital for itself and the state. We must summarize these model units, increase their numbers and promote a widespread movement to study, catch up to and surpass the model units at all installations, in all sectors and localities.

Dear Comrades,

The problem with which each of us is concerned now is how to quickly stabilize and gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the people, beginning with manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces. We have made many efforts in this area. However, the results we have achieved are still small; many of our efforts have been marked by shortcomings, shortcomings that must be corrected.

This problem must be resolved in a basic manner. We must begin at its source by accelerating production. We must reorganize the national economy and reorganize production within each sector, each locality and each installation. At the same time, we must organize distribution and circulation well. We must find well coordinated solutions to the problems of commerce, finance, prices, wages, bonuses and the transformation and management of the market, establish a proper relationship between the accumulation of capital and consumption and correctly implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor. These are the issues of foremost importance in our socio-economic plan. Over the period of a number of years, the party and state will surely bring about the necessary reforms in this important field.

The struggle to restore socialist order in distribution and circulation is a vivid manifestation of the struggle between socialism and capitalism and is closely linked to the struggle being waged by our people against the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy. This struggle must lead to the victory of the working class and collective farmers over the bourgeoisie, over spontaneous powers and the forces hostile to socialism. The stand of the working class is to join its state in struggling for this victory.

We must uphold the right of collective mastery of the laboring people in order to manage the economy, manage distribution-circulation and insure that the state is the master of the market, that the state controls the goods that are produced, controls the flow of money and distributes goods in a fair and reasonable manner to meet the needs of society. The manual workers and civil servants of each production and business unit must struggle to insure that the discipline involved in the delivery of products to the state is fully upheld so that supplies and goods do not fall into the hands of private merchants.

The various Trade Union organizations, especially those within the distribution and circulation sector, must wage a determined struggle against misappropriation, waste and bribery, against profiteering and smuggling, try to firmly maintain market and price discipline, improve their financial and monetary activities and support production and everyday life well. In particular, the commerce sector must succeed in providing those products that are supplied under ration standards and fulfill its function as the housewife of all of society well.

Reorganizing distribution throughout society as well as within each production unit is an important element in improving our management of the economy and establishing the new management mechanism.

Our party has defined the basic principles underlying this management mechanism as: making the plan the center of our efforts and closely linking the plan to cost accounting and socialist business procedures. In keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, we must grant financial autonomy to installations and broaden the independence of localities; at the same time, we must insure that the state manages the entire national economy, controls all sources of accumulated capital in order to build projects of importance to the entire country and controls the vast majority of the strategic products being produced so that it can distribute them in accordance with the plan.

This management mechanism guarantees the exercise of collective mastery on the three fundamental levels: the central level, the local level and the basic level. It establishes the correct relationship among the three interests, always insures that the highest interests are the interests of all society and gives appropriate attention to the interests of the collective while providing strong incentive for the legitimate interests of the worker.

This management mechanism is the antithesis of bureaucracy, of one level taking over the work of another, of the failure to give attention to economic laws, the failure to concern oneself with economic efficiency, the failure to tap the creativity of the masses, the failure to develop potentials and the failure to encourage dynamism on the part of localities and installations. It also resolutely opposes liberalism, a laissez faire attitude, operating on the basis of the "free" market, the sweeping expansion of business outside the plan and the accomodation of capitalist and non-socialist factors that erode the base of the plan and weaken the position of socialism.

Now, more than ever before, the various Trade Union organizations and all manual workers and civil servants must work hard to establish this correct management mechanism.

Dear Comrades,

In recent days, the whole world has seen just how bellicose and reckless the Reagan administration is. They have obstinately gone ahead with the installation of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. They invaded and occupied Grenada and have intensified their armed intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador, thus creating an extremely dangerous situation in Central America and the Caribbean Sea. They have used Israel as a tool of aggression and war and brazenly sent troops into Lebanon, thus exacerbating the situation in the Middle East. They have taken urgent steps to strengthen the Japan-United States-South Korea alliance.

This situation has caused all nations to be more alert and vigilant in the face of the growing danger of a new world war.

The peace and life of mankind must be protected.

The Soviet Union is the citadel of peace and the world revolution. Once again, we state that we totally support the unwavering policy of peace of the Soviet Union and strongly support the recent statements made by Y.V. Andropov on 28 September and 27 October. We are in agreement with the stern retaliatory measures being taken by the Soviet Union together with the GDR and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The U.S. imperialists must get out of Grenada and withdraw their forces from Lebanon. Along with the socialist countries and the non-aligned countries, Vietnam stands resolutely beside Cuba and Nicaragua, beside the people of El Salvador and the Palestinian people.

In unity with Kampuchea and Laos, we are determined to struggle for a Southeast Asia of peace, friendship and cooperation.

Dear Comrades,

The esteemed Uncle Ho and our party, ever since it was founded, were and have always concerned themselves with and closely led the worker movement and Trade Union activities.

Fighting under the banner of the Vietnam Communist Party, a party that is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, may the Vietnamese working class always prove itself worthy of being the vanguard class, the class symbolizing national independence and socialism. May our Vietnamese Trade Unions march forward with enthusiasm and become the firm pillar of the socialist collective mastery.

The revolution is a festival of the masses, is our source of happiness.

May all Trade Union organizations become deeply involved in the three revolutions and launch an intense and robust socialist emulation movement. The capital Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, the mining areas and the industrial centers must take the lead in this emulation movement.

The Vietnamese working class is a loyal and dependable corps of the international worker movement. The Vietnam Trade Union is an active member of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We will surely join with our brothers and friends throughout the world in the struggle for the victory of peace, national independence and socialism!

I wish your congress success!

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## CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUMMARY OF THE WAR: THE ART OF SEIZING OPPORTUNITY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 18-23

[Article by Hoang Minh Thao]

[Text] In the art of leading and directing armed uprisings and revolutionary war, the art of seizing opportunity is of decisive importance. It is closely related to the art of using forces and the art of creating position. These three arts combine to form an entity: forces-position-timing, the three of which share a cause and effect, dialectical relationship. Examined from another perspective, the art of seizing opportunity is a relatively independent art, one that we will study in isolation here.

In armed uprisings and the revolutionary war, our party has always stressed the important significance of opportunities and always fully understood the relationship among "timing," "position" and the organization of forces. The basic thinking adopted by our party concerning the art of opportunity is: making every effort to create opportunities, seizing opportunities and taking bold action to insure that the revolution wins victory as promptly and quickly as possible, that the revolution moves forward as steadily as possible. President Ho, the great leader and the brilliant strategist of the Vietnamese revolution, taught us about the art of opportunity through simple but meaningful and profound poetry.

"We must be broad in our vision, thorough in our thinking.  
We must be determined and constantly on the offensive;  
An incorrect move can cause the loss of two knights.  
At the right time, one pawn can achieve victory.(1)

The revolution, armed uprisings and the revolutionary war are processes that develop in accordance with definite laws, processes which, because of the fierce nature of the struggle between antagonistic classes, do not always develop in an orderly manner. In order to win partial and then total victory, it is necessary to take leaps forward, leaps that come about as a result of seizing opportunity. An opportunity that is the most favorable, the best and the most fully developed opportunity at a certain time and under a certain set of conditions can lead to the victory of a revolutionary campaign or strategy, can lead the revolution to a new and higher level of development or to total victory. Therefore, the skilled leader and commander must make a steadfast

effort to change the comparison of forces in a manner increasingly in favor of the revolution, accelerate the process of orderly development and closely coordinate pressing, immediate tasks with long-range, basic tasks. And, when an opportunity arises, he must promptly seize it, take bold action, propel the revolution forward by leaps and bounds and advance to victory.

The art of seizing opportunity is not new. In our nation's history of building and defending the country, our national heroes had a very thorough understanding of this art and used it very well to defeat aggressors. Nguyen Trai, the strategist of the Lam Son Uprising and the war of national liberation against the Minh Army, said: "When opportunity and position are ours, that which we lost become ours again, things that are small become large; when opportunity and position are not ours, strength becomes weakness, calm become danger; this change takes only an instant to occur"(2); and, he stressed: "Opportunity! Opportunity! It should never be missed."(3)

Today, under the light of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian revolutionaries, having deeply and scientifically studied the matter of seizing opportunity, have raised this art to a new level, applied it in a creative and skillful manner in the class struggle and the national liberation struggle and achieved tremendous results in revolutionary struggle, armed uprisings and revolutionary war.

Marxist-Leninist theory on the art of seizing opportunity demands that the following basic relationships be well established: the relationship between quantitative change and substantive change; the relationship between the immediate future and long-range future; and the relationship between the objective and the subjective. An opportunity is partly scientific in nature and partly a matter of art; it is the necessary and objective product of the development of the comparison of forces in the class struggle. An opportunity reflects internal antagonisms that have ripened and must evolve into something else. At the same time, it is the product of subjective effort. The realities of the great Russian October Revolution provide an eloquent example in the way that the Russian Bolsheviks applied the art of seizing opportunity. On 6 November 1917, in order to provide guidance with regard to seizing opportunities in the October Revolution, Lenin directed: "History will not forgive revolutionaries who could have won victories today (and surely will win victory today) but allowed victory to wait until tomorrow; because, when victory is allowed to wait until tomorrow, we will suffer heavy losses if we are not skillful, we might lose everything if we are not skillful."(4) The strong will and wise leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party led the Russian revolution to total victory on 7 November 1917, thus opening a new and brilliant chapter in the history of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the entire world. President Ho analyzed this revolutionary event in his book "The Revolutionary Road"(1917). He wrote: "By late October, everything had been organized and everyone wanted to take action. However, Mr. Lenin advised: 'Patience! Let us wait a little bit longer until everyone is opposed to the government, then we will take action.' On 5 November, the government held an open session to promulgate a new law, a law that benefited the capitalists but was detrimental to workers and peasants. Mr. Lenin said to party members: 'If we take action on the 6th, it will be too early because the populace will not be fully informed about this bad law and, if they do not

know about it, their hatred of the government will not be very intense. But, if we wait until the 8th, we will be too late because, by then, the government will know that the people are angry and will have taken thorough steps to protect itself. thus, on the 7th, when the communist party issues the order to begin the revolution, workers will arise and lay siege to the government, peasants will arise and drive off their landlords. When the government dispatches troops to suppress them, the troops will quickly take the side of the workers and turn on the government."(5)

Following the example of the Russian October Revolution, our party and President Ho creatively applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and provided successful guidance with regard to the seizing of opportunity in the general uprising in August, 1945. Learning from the lessons and experiences of the Nghe-Tinh Soviets in 1930-1931, the Bac Son Uprising in September, 1940, the Nam Ky Uprising in November, 1940 and the Cho Rang (Do Luong) Uprising in January, 1941, the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (1941) defined the policy regarding uprisings as advancing from local uprisings to a general uprising to seize political power throughout the country. However, at which opportunities were local uprisings to be launched, at which opportunity was a general uprising to be launched? With the question of preparing forces having been resolved, the plenum decided to establish the Viet Minh Front, the member organizations of which were the National Salvation Associations, the national salvation self-defense units in the localities and the Bac Son Guerrilla Unit, the name of which was later changed to the National Salvation Army. On 22 December 1944, in order to bring about basic, substantive changes in the growing, nationwide mass movement to resist the French and drive off the Japanese, the party founded the Armed Propaganda Unit for the Liberation of Vietnam and subsequently merged the armed national salvation units and the Armed Propaganda Unit for the Liberation of Vietnam into the Vietnam Liberation Army (15 May 1945). The party and President Ho clearly foresaw two objective factors, namely, that the Soviet Union and the allies would win victory and that the Japanese and French fascists in Indochina would sooner or later turn to fighting each other. On 12 March 1945, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee issued the historic directive "The Japanese-French Conflict and Our Action" and set forth the tasks of staging local uprisings, building bases, developing the armed forces, launching a guerrilla war and quickly preparing for a general uprising.

On 8 August 1945, after annihilating the German and Italian fascists, the Soviet Union declared war on the Japanese fascists and, within a few days, the Soviet army had annihilated the well trained Quang Dong Army of Japan. On 15 August 1945, Japan officially surrendered to the Soviet Union and the allies. This was a very important international circumstance, one that provided a very favorable opportunity for a general uprising within our country's revolution. Two days earlier, on 13 August 1945, the party convened a national conference in Tan Trao at which it decided to launch a general uprising with the objectives of seizing political power from the Japanese, toppling the lackeys and emerging as the masters of the country before allied forces arrived in Indochina to disarm the Japanese. On 19 August 1945, immediately after Japan's surrender and seizing the opportunity that had arisen, the general uprising won victory in Hanoi; on 23 August 1945, victory was won in Hue; and,

on 25 August, victory was won in Saigon. In the space of one-half month, our general uprising had achieved success throughout the country. This success reflected the efforts made by our entire party and all our people to prepare both the "position" and "forces" of the revolution over a period of many years, especially during the period of rapid change from late 1944 to early 1945. It also reflected the talented guidance provided by the party in taking advantage of favorable, objective circumstances, creating opportunity and swiftly seizing the opportunity to lead the masses in a successful uprising.

In the war of resistance against France as well as the recent resistance against the United States, our party and people raised the art of seizing opportunity in revolutionary war to a new pinnacle of development. The party constantly took the initiative in creating favorable opportunities and promptly seized opportunities for killing the enemy; through opportunities arising in combat, through campaign opportunities and strategic opportunities, it gradually developed the war of liberation and created the conditions needed to win final victory.

Examples of success, from the viewpoint of campaign art as well as strategy, in creating and seizing opportunities to kill the enemy, examples that have further refined Vietnamese military art, are found in the following: the 1950 border campaign, the Hoa Binh campaign in 1951 and the 1953-1954 Dien Bien Phu campaign in the resistance against France; the uprising in South Vietnam in 1959-1960; the Binh Gia Ba Gia battle in 1964-1965; the general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1968; the Route 9-Southern Laos counter-offensive campaign in 1971; the strategic offensive in the South and the campaign against the B-52's of the U.S. pirates in the North in 1972; and the general strategic offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975 in the resistance against the United States.

Opportunities are the result of many factors. They can be the result of external circumstances or the result of a combination of external circumstances and internal forces of the revolution; however, it is the internal forces of the revolution that play the decisive role in the creation of opportunities. The leadership of the revolution must not only know how to seize opportunities, it must, more importantly, also know how to create opportunities. Therefore, it is only when the forces of the revolution are sufficiently strong and it is known how to utilize these forces in a correct and skillful manner that opportunities can be seized and the basis can be laid for creating opportunities. In 1945, many countries in Southeast Asia found themselves in the same favorable circumstances that our country did but they failed to lead their revolutions to victory even though they, too, faced the favorable opportunity resulting from the decisive victory of the Soviet Union over the Japanese fascists. It is possible that some of these countries did not possess revolutionary forces that were strong enough to seize this opportunity or they failed to take bold action when the opportunity arose and missed it; this is not to mention the lack of sufficient conditions to create opportunity and win victory.

The real strength of the revolution that determines each victory of the revolution consists of many different factors. Among them, mention must first be made of one very important, very decisive factor, namely, the need to have

a command staff that is wise, possesses great revolutionary skills and capabilities, follows a correct line that is consistent with the laws of development of objective reality, possesses the thoroughly revolutionary spirit; is determined to maintain an offensive posture, knows how to organize and prepare each basic element and moving force of the revolution, employs a correct revolutionary method, keeps its plan secret, and takes swift, precise and unexpected action when the opportunity arises.

The explosion and victory of a revolution within a country are often closely associated with international developments. However, the revolution and revolutionary opportunities emerge first and primarily as a result of extreme class antagonisms, the serious weakening of the enemy's forces and the development of the revolution of the masses to a new pinnacle plus the talented leadership of the organization leading the revolution. The victories of the revolutions of Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and so forth are models of the successful application of the art of seizing opportunity for the revolution.

In our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation, our party led the revolution to victory after victory, led the revolution forward gradually. The signing of the Paris Agreement (1973) on our terms and the forced withdrawal of the United States constituted a tremendous victory for our country's revolution. Taking advantage of the new opportunity that had arisen, our party actively prepared forces and solidified the real forces of the revolution with a view toward winning total victory for the cause of liberating the country. When the Saigon puppet government went back on their word and sabotaged the Paris Agreement, sabotaged the peace, our army and people were able to "bring down the puppets" in a short amount of time. In 1973 and 1974, while making every effort to defeat the encroachment plan of the enemy, we actively prepared our forces. Under the party's leadership, our armed forces underwent extraordinary growth. The mobile, strategic reserve military corps under the High Command and the military corps of each front were established. We deployed the forces on all battlefields more efficiently in conjunction with organizing additional forces and quickly providing the army with more equipment and improving its ability to coordinate combat operations among the various branches on the battlefield. The forces of the political struggle were also solidified and strongly developed under a wide variety of forms of organization. In the cities, there were movements demanding peace, better living conditions, democracy, national independence and the overthrow of Thieu. The puppet army and government were becoming increasingly weak militarily, politically and economically. The United States was encountering increasing difficulties at home and in the world. The collaboration between the United States and the puppets had seriously eroded. Meanwhile, the people of the world were sympathizing with and supporting the just struggle of our people more with each passing day.

These were the basic factors of strategic opportunity. Our party set the goal of totally liberating the South in the 2 years 1975 and 1976. The Political Bureau foresaw another possibility: "If the opportunity arises in early or late 1975, we will liberate the South in 1975."(6) This was a very important guideline in the development of a strategic position favorable to us. In view of the fact that the forces of the enemy were strongly concentrated at either

end of South Vietnam (Tri Thien and the Saigon-Gia Dinh area) but weak and vulnerable in the middle (Military Region 2), the Political Bureau decided to select the Central Highlands as the main target of the offensive and selected Buon Ma Thuot as the site of the key, opening battle. This was a very wise and accurate decision; it delivered a serious and unexpected blow in a region where the enemy was politically and militarily vulnerable and weak. The resounding victory of our army and people in Buon Ma Thuot caused the enemy to panic and waver. This situation created an opportunity for our party to carry out its strategic decision to liberate the South in 1975. Opportunity is a force. Following the victory of the Central Highlands campaign, the Hue-Da Nang campaign spread our victory down to the extreme southern portion of central Vietnam and into the Mekong Delta. The vital defense belt of the enemy in Saigon-Gia Dinh was cut to pieces by our army and people. The destruction of the Saigon regime was now being calculated in terms of days and weeks. On 31 March 1975, in the face of this situation, the Political Bureau issued the following directive: "The revolutionary war in the South has not only entered a stage of rapid development, but the strategic opportunity for a general offensive and a general uprising in the stronghold of the enemy has fully emerged. At this moment, the final strategic battle of our army and people has begun, the battle to conclude the people's national, democratic revolution in the South, achieve peace and reunify the fatherland." The Political Bureau emphasized: "We must seize this opportunity even more vigorously and, under the guideline of acting with lightning-like speed, boldness, surprise and certain victory, carry out the general offensive and uprising as soon as possible, the best time being April, 1975."(7)

This was a string of events, a string of campaigns that unfolded very quickly. The victory of one created the opportunity for the victory of the next, culminating in the great victory of the spring of 1975. It was one of the pinnacles reached by our party in the art of seizing opportunity as it led and guided the revolution, in general, and military affairs, in particular.

In the new stage of the revolution, as we turn our hands to building socialism throughout the country, we face a new enemy that is trying to undermine the revolutionary accomplishments for which our people shed much blood to record. They are scheming to annex our country and expand into all of Southeast Asia. On the basis of the realities of the revolution and with the lessons and experiences learned and gained in the recent national liberation struggle against the French and American imperialists, our party took the initiative in preparing to deal with a situation in which China might launch a war of aggression from the north and appropriately retaliated against the war of aggression waged by the Pol Pot lackeys on the southwestern border under orders from their bosses. In the spring of 1979, our army and people concentrated their forces, delivered a decisive blow along the Vietnam-Kampuchea border, won brilliant victory and restored peace in the southwestern region of the fatherland. Seizing this major opportunity and with the support of our people, the army and people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, arose and toppled the reactionary Pol Pot-Ieng Sary government. On 7 January 1979, the capital Phnom Penh was liberated. We had taken the enemy by surprise. They reacted in an unprepared and desperate manner. On 17 February 1979, more than 600,000 Chinese aggressor troops crossed our northern border and committed repulsive

crimes. In response to the appeal made by the Party Central Committee and upholding their tradition of heroism, our army and people tenaciously fought to defend the fatherland. With the support of the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea, the other socialist countries and progressive mankind, our army and people, after 30 days and nights of brave fighting, won glorious victory, putting more than 60,000 of the aggressors out of combat and forcing the Beijing reactionary authorities to withdraw their forces.

The victories won in the two recent wars to defend the fatherland were victories of great historic significance. Developing upon our nation's precious traditions of resisting foreign aggression and under the leadership of the party, we are "determined to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy and, at the same time, insure that the country is always ready, is always strong enough to win victory over the enemy in any situation," determined to defend each bit of soil of our beloved fatherland if the enemy recklessly invades our country.

The realities of history as well as the new tasks of the revolution demand that we gain an even deeper understanding of the art of seizing opportunity. "We must be broad in our vision, thorough in our thinking. We must be determined and constantly on the offensive"; that is, we must make extensive efforts on our own, fully prepare the forces of the revolution and, on this basis, create and seize opportunities, turn opportunities into forces, turn objective capabilities into real victories for the revolution.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 340.
2. Nguyen Trai: "Complete Works," Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p 117.
3. Ibid., p 116.
4. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, Volume 34, p 571.
5. Ho Chi Minh: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 254.
6. "The Vietnam People's Army, 1945-1979," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, p 265.
7. Ibid.

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## THE MOVEMENT IN QUANG NINH TO MAINTAIN THE SECURITY OF THE FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 24-30

[Article by Le Dai, secretary of the Quang Ninh Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Our party has issued many resolutions and directives concerning the entire party, all our people and the entire army taking determined steps to defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. The resolutions of the party have stressed the need to continue to build the people's security system and the national defense system, making them solid and strong, continue to strengthen the districts and villages along the borders, areas of vital importance and so forth.

Having studied the various resolutions of the party concerning the people's security movement, our provincial party committee has become increasingly aware of the importance of this movement and become increasingly involved in developing this movement in a manner consistent with the characteristics of the locality.

Quang Ninh is a province that has a large industry; the Quang Ninh coal mining region occupies an important position within the economy of the entire country.

During a meeting with representatives of the cadres and workers of the coal sector, President Ho instructed them: it is necessary to "accelerate the development of the coal sector into a model for the other economic sectors and make Quang Ninh Province a prosperous and beautiful province."(1)

In addition to the coal industry, Quang Ninh has a rich variety of economic sectors, a tourist area that encompasses the beautiful and impressive scenery of Ha Long and a border with China. Quang Ninh also occupies a strategic military position and has an international commercial port. Numerous nationalities live together in Quang Ninh. Due to these characteristics, Quang Ninh is usually considered a province of special importance in both areas of building socialism and defending the fatherland. It is also a place that foreign aggressors since antiquity have considered one of the first targets to be attacked and occupied in order to expand their wars of aggression throughout our entire country.

When the French colonialists returned after being toppled and forced to flee by Japan, they immediately attacked and occupied the mining region and, before they withdrew from Vietnam under the 1954 Geneva Agreement, they set up spy nests in the mining region, the very malicious objective of which was to commit economic, political and ideological sabotage.

During the period in which the U.S. imperialists widened the war to the north, they conducted very heavy air attacks against many areas within the province and, at the same time, inserted scores of spies and commandoes into Quang Ninh by air and by sea to conduct clandestine activities on a long-term basis or use mines to sabotage factories, warehouses and bridges, launch surprise attacks against vital agencies, assassinate cadres and so forth.

The Beijing reactionaries have long used undesirable elements among the more than 160,000 persons of Chinese ancestry to continuously harass and sabotage our province in many different ways; they have created a shell of legitimacy around lackeys who have infiltrated our organization, where they have held many important positions on the various party committee echelons, the government and the armed forces in order to sabotage us from within. Some persons of Chinese ancestry reported their ancestry as Nung, Dao and so forth in order to mix among the persons in ethnic minority areas and make their way to the South to conduct activities.

In the 1960's, they took advantage of the "friendly" relations between the two provinces of Quang Ninh and Quang Dong to send lackeys into our country to conduct activities in many different guises: as economic specialists, military specialists and so forth. Their activities were mainly characterized by encouraging reactionaries in the mountains to spread banditry and foment rebellion, encouraging persons of Chinese ancestry to not fulfill the obligations of the citizen, inserting espionage agents and proudly campaigning among teachers and students to follow Mao and carry out a "cultural revolution" right here in our country.

In particular, in mid-1978, they provoked persons of Chinese ancestry into causing the "Chinese refugees" incident, which caused 160,000 persons to flee their homes and fields and created an unprecedented political and socio-economic upheaval in our province.

Following their disgraceful defeat in the war of aggression on the northern border in February, 1979, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists redirected their efforts toward a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country. In our province, the specific actions they have taken have been to insert spies and intelligence agents and spread deceptive propaganda in coordination with using "merchandise" to buy the allegiance of and win over gullible, backward persons among the ethnic minorities and the merchants who smuggle goods across the border.

Their activities have the objectives of selecting persons to use as lackeys, gathering intelligence information and waging psychological warfare in a vain attempt to erode the confidence that the people have in the party, sow divisions among the ethnic minorities and between the army and the people, induce people into fleeing the country, provoking banditry, fomenting

rebellion and conducting economic and ideological sabotage while disrupting social order and safety in the areas along our country's border.

Quang Ninh is a frontline province. If the enemy attacks, they might make combined use of their military corps to simultaneously launch attacks from many different directions against the frontline and attacks against us on the rear line.

If such a situation should occur, all of Quang Ninh Province will become a battlefield. Therefore, the building of the security defenses in our province is not limited to the border villages and districts, but must be carried out throughout the province, with the focal point of this effort being the three border districts, the coastal islands and the three cities in the industrial area.

Conscious of this, we have, over a period of many years, built and strengthened Quang Ninh in every respect and, on this basis, strengthened and strongly developed the people's security defense line.

We promptly assembled several hundred cadres to conduct surveys and evaluate the situation within each village, each hamlet, enterprise, ward and so forth; today, we have virtually completed our assessment of the situation and adopted plans for gradually performing security work, especially in key areas.

By employing every means and force at our disposal, we conducted many concerted and widespread educational campaigns within the party, within the army and among the people in order to give everyone a clear understanding of the enemy, of the schemes and methods they employ, give everyone a deeper understanding of the lines and policies of the party and the laws of the state; in this way, we further heightened everyone's spirit of revolutionary vigilance, deepened everyone's hatred of the enemy and raised everyone's confidence in victory.

We have constantly maintained that building and defending the mountain region is the undertaking of the people of the mountain ethnic minorities and is, at the same time, the weighty responsibility of the party organization and people of the entire province. Strengthening the solidarity of the ethnic minorities, the solidarity between the army and the people, fully complying with the positions and policies of the party and state, enthusiastically participating in productive labor, maintaining combat readiness and fighting in defense of our birthplace are matters of survival. Within a number of years, we will have put an end to nomadism in the highlands, developed our forestry industry and agriculture and begun producing export goods in order to provide jobs. We have been encouraging the people to work with the state on repairing roads, repairing schools, desks and chairs, hiring additional teachers and opening additional classes in the mountain villages while developing public health services, with special attention to the highland and border areas. Despite encountering numerous difficulties, we have managed to maintain the ethnic minority youth and teenager schools; these schools have a regular enrollment of hundreds of students and provide to the party and state core cadres who are local persons or members of the ethnic minorities. We have purified the internal ranks and strengthened the organization of the

party, the government and the mass organizations within each mountain village and sent many cadres to strengthen these areas, in an effort to complete the strengthening of places that are weak and deficient within the space of a few years. As a result of these efforts, the mountain villages have gradually changed and the living conditions of the people are becoming increasingly stable. On the other hand, forces of the army, the people's public security sector and the militia conduct routine patrols through which they tightly control the border and have promptly discovered and captured intelligence agents infiltrating our mainland and offshore waters. The spirit of vigilance of the masses combined with the administrative and professional measures of the specialized agencies have virtually defeated the plan of the enemy to use merchandise to win the allegiance of a number of unstable persons among us. Many counter-revolutionaries, persons who smuggle goods across the border and other undesirable elements have been discovered and apprehended. All persons who had to be moved far from the border area have been returned to the areas in which they resided.

At places that face the forces of the enemy, production and business installations and port piers must be organized so that they have the strength needed to fully maintain security and carry out production in conjunction with providing security for production in exact accordance with their duties and responsibilities as stated within internal security regulations. The plan of every unit encompasses both production and production security. A policy of commendation and disciplinary action has been put into effect not only for achievements and shortcomings in production, but also for achievements and shortcomings in the maintenance of production security. This policy applies to all production, business, administrative and professional sectors, to manual workers and personnel as well as cadres in charge. Production and business units have, through numerous production, production security and management improvement campaigns, made significant advances and adopted specific and appropriate internal rules and regulations. The various organizations of the party, which possess a high spirit of vigilance, have utilized the functional agencies to provide education, organize implementation, inspect implementation and inspect the maintenance of production security just as they inspect production itself; when conducting production inspections, they are required to also inspect the maintenance of production security.

All people's security work must be under the direct and unified leadership of the various party committee echelons. The party organization relies upon the force of manual workers to serve as the nucleus, serve as its staff, develop the strengths that exist where manual workers are and mobilize every force to work together.

Our province's guideline is to coordinate the building of the security defense line with the building of the economy, the development of the culture and the strengthening of the national defense system, coordinate the mass movement with the measures employed by the specialized agencies and coordinate the locality with the sector. In the guidance it provides, our provincial party committee has implemented these guidelines in a selective manner; however, there are also certain jobs that must simultaneously be performed throughout

the province and an effort must be made to avoid fragmentation, which would adversely affect the quality of the work being performed.

In the process of implementing the decision, whenever the localities have encountered obstacles related to any sector, the provincial party committee has sent party committee members and the heads of the concerned sectors to the place in question in order to examine the situation and take corrective measures; on the other hand, we have guided the sectors and departments in conducting preliminary reviews of special areas of work and held many scientific conferences to discuss other subjects, such as how to reduce the violation of the law among youths and teenagers, how to combat the psychological war of the enemy and so forth.

We are very concerned with conducting inspections, promptly praising and commanding those units and individuals that record achievements and correcting mistakes.

In the 2 years of working to implement the directives and resolutions of the Party Central Committee under the direct leadership of the various party committee echelons, several noteworthy results have been achieved in building the mass movement to maintain security in Quang Ninh Province. In the 2 years of building this movement, we have gained the following several initial experiences:

It is necessary to fully adhere to the basic viewpoints of the party, necessary for the various party committee echelons to provide regular, direct, comprehensive and close leadership of the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland and necessary to closely link this movement to the other campaigns.

Our provincial party committee has attached very much importance to propagandizing and teaching to cadres, party members and the masses the spirit of the resolutions of the Political Bureau and the Party Secretariat so that everyone is clearly aware of the importance and the strategic position of the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland in the decisive struggle against dangerous enemies, most directly the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and our basic enemy, the U.S. imperialists, and becomes aware of the intrigues, methods and tricks they employ in their wide-ranging sabotage. We have concerned ourselves with educating the key cadres of the various levels and sectors so that they are thoroughly familiar with the basic viewpoints regarding the centralized, unified and comprehensive leadership provided by the party committee, regarding employing the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat system and regarding the spirit of taking the initiative and continuously attacking counter-revolutionaries and all other types of criminals. They have a full understanding of the guidelines of closely coordinating the building of the economy with protecting the economy and coordinating political and ideological work with strengthening the organization and combating negative phenomena within the agencies of the party, government and mass organizations and in society.

We have codified the task that the party chapters and party organizations have in guiding security work in the form of a 12-point code of regulations. This

code defines the specific requirements involved in the maintenance of security, requirements with which the basic organizations of the party must be thoroughly familiar so that they can provide the necessary guidance, and a number of principles and regulations concerning the responsibilities of the basic party committees in providing leadership and guidance and the responsibilities of party members toward this work.

The code of regulations mentioned above has been disseminated to the various party chapters. By organizing the study of the resolutions of the central committee and the resolution and regulations of the provincial party committee, we have achieved a high degree of unanimity concerning the leadership and guidance of security work throughout the party organization, from the provincial to the basic level, gradually corrected the mistake made by some party committees of always leaving security work up to security forces and created an increasingly large local strength, thereby making a decisive contribution to the effort to win victory in maintaining the security of the fatherland within the locality.

In the process of implementing the resolution, a permanent component was assigned to assist the provincial party committee in inspecting, supervising and guiding the development of the situation and holding periodic conferences to conduct preliminary reviews and gain experience as required by the situation.

All party chapters, party organizations and persons that have recorded outstanding achievements have been commended and awarded mementoes by the standing committee of the provincial party committee. At the same time, we have criticized and promptly corrected all indications of a lack of vigilance and lax management in the maintenance of security and order.

The concern shown by the provincial party committee has had a strong impact within the agencies of the party, the government apparatus and the mass organizations, had a strong impact from the subwards, villages and enterprises to the armed forces, thereby creating an atmosphere of emulation in maintaining the security of the fatherland.

The movement to maintain the security of the fatherland must be conducted on the basis of utilizing the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat system.

Thoroughly applying this basic principle in its leadership and guidance of the movement within the locality, our provincial party committee maintains: each accomplishment of the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland originates in the correct leadership provided by the party, the management effectiveness of the state and the strength of the forces of the broad masses. And, promoting the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland is the common task of the entire party, all the people and all the armed forces within the province. The various party committee echelons keep fully abreast of and closely guide the movement; the people's committees on the various levels guide implementation. The provincial party committee guides and closely coordinates the forces within each locality and throughout the

province through the party committees and the people's committees on the various levels.

As a result of the regulations that the provincial party committee has adopted and the detailed division of responsibilities it has established, many levels and sectors within the province have adopted programs and plans for closely coordinating with one another. They have taken the initiative in developing a wide range of forms of organization and measures that have produced practical results in the fields of politics, ideology, organization, administrative work, economic activities and the law and have closely coordinated the function of organizing and building with the function of suppression by means of violent force exerted by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In Quang Ninh, facts have shown that if the various levels and sectors fully comprehend and creatively apply the principle of employing the combined strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland will surely gain the participation of increasingly large forces.

Upholding the right of mastery of the working people in the field of maintaining political security and maintaining social order and safety is a matter of strategic significance in the tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland and is the only basis upon which a strong security defense line can be established on the basic level.

The revolution is the undertaking of the masses and the maintenance of security is a part of revolutionary work; therefore, it, too, is an undertaking of the masses. If, in the process of carrying out the revolution and at a time when the class struggle continues to be a difficult and decisive struggle, the forces of the masses are not mobilized to directly struggle against counter-revolutionaries and other kinds of criminals in order to protect the revolution and protect the system, we surely cannot achieve lasting, stable political security or lasting, stable social order and safety.

President Ho taught: "To succeed, we must have tens of millions of pairs of hands, tens of millions of pairs of eyes and ears. To accomplish this, we must rely upon the people, not be remote from the people. If we are, we will fail. When the people provide us with much assistance, our successes are many; when they provide us with little assistance, our successes are few; when they provide us with total assistance, our victory is total."(2) In keeping with this advice of President Ho, the Quang Ninh Provincial Party Committee has been concerned for many years with educating the masses and mobilizing them to maintain the security of the fatherland. The provincial party committee has conducted numerous campaigns, the most recent one being the campaign to have "the entire party, all the people and the entire army of Quang Ninh build a beautiful and safe mining region."

This campaign is designed to build the subwards, villages, districts, cities, units of the armed forces, agencies and enterprises into defense lines that are "politically stable; militarily strong; economically prosperous; quite in terms of the maintenance of order and security; and culturally and socially progressive."

The objectives mentioned above have been gradually applied in a manner consistent with the characteristics and requirements of each area, the border areas, the ethnic minority areas, the islands and the industrial areas, and with the characteristics of each sector and each mass organization.

At present, the movement is developing in two directions: by locality and by sector or joint sector.

The requirements and specifics involved in maintaining our unity, our vigilance and fighting to maintain security have gradually been closely linked to building and strengthening the political base and carrying out economic development as well as cultural and social development. These factors are closely interrelated and constitute the overall political task of each locality and unit.

To maintain the overall movement and maintain the strength resulting from the unity of the three forces of the public security sector, the army and local youths, we are endeavoring to develop the activities conducted within the movement more with each passing day. We have concerned ourselves with guiding the effort to coordinate the mobilization of the masses to maintain overall security with the security campaign within the sectors and mass organizations and promptly conduct preliminary reviews of special areas of interest; the specific jobs performed in the maintenance of security within each sector are prepared by the sector in coordination with public security forces and are reviewed and approved by the standing committees of the various party committee echelons. In addition, once each year or every few years, a conference is convened to review the movement to maintain the security of the fatherland, a conference attended by representatives of the party, the government, the mass organizations and the armed forces from the basic to the provincial levels in order to gain experience, learn from the advanced model units, make awards and commendations for achievements, encourage the various strata of the people to eagerly participate in the movement and, at the same time, point out the weaknesses and deficiencies of the sectors and localities so that corrective steps can be taken.

Building people's public security forces that are pure, solid and strong enough to serve as the nucleus supporting the leadership of the party committee echelons and directly fight and defeat the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy is an extremely important task of the various party committee echelons.

In the field of maintaining political security, maintaining social order and safety and strengthening the people's security defense line, the people's public security forces are the competent staff of the party. Our party has stated that the people's public security forces are the main tool of violent force of the dictatorship of the proletariat..., that we must use the strength of the masses as our base and use the forces of the public security sector and army to competently support the people in their struggle against the enemy.

Recognizing the role played by the people's public security forces, our provincial party committee has always, especially since the Secretariat issued directive number 92 on building pure, solid and strong people's public

security forces, concerned itself with building a pure, solid and strong party organization within the people's public security sector, strengthening the corps of cadres who specialize in party work within the public security forces, training key cadres for the public security sector from the provincial to the district and city levels and building and strengthening the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the chapters of the Women's Union within the public security forces of the province.

The provincial party committee has directly concerned itself with providing advanced training to the majority of public security cadres in theory and politics through the high level, middle level and basic level party schools, providing advanced training to improve their qualifications in the technical sciences and the science of management through on-the-job college classes and providing advanced training to improve their professional skills through the security schools on the college, middle school and elementary levels. We have boldly trained and assigned jobs to young cadres who show good prospects and have received systematic training. We have also correctly implemented the policies regarding veteran cadres who have developed slowly or are up in years and still on the job or retired. We have closely led the work of purifying the internal organization and have been resolute in our effort to remove persons who do not meet political standards or possess the required qualities from the organization of the public security forces and leadership positions within it.

Our provincial party committee and provincial people's committee have succeeded to some degree in establishing for the armed forces better material conditions in order to improve their fighting ability and enable them to perform their work better.

Having reviewed the implementation of Party Secretariat Directive number 2 during the past 2 years, our provincial party committee is now leading the public security forces in a campaign to implement the six teachings of Uncle Ho to the people's public security forces with a view toward excellently completing the tasks assigned to them.

Not satisfied with the achievements that have been recorded, our province, displaying an even higher spirit of vigilance, is attentively observing the schemes and methods of the enemy, adopting thorough plans and organizing the entire party organization, all the armed forces and all the people of Quang Ninh Province in an effort to strengthen the maintenance of security in order to become a province that is solid from the perspective of national defense, is economically prosperous and has a prosperous standard of living.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Speech by Uncle Ho to representatives of the workers and cadres of the coal sector, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 17 Nov 1968.
2. Speech by President Ho to the second class of the Middle Level Public Security School, 1951.

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CSO: 4210/17

## A NEW STEP FORWARD BY THAI BINH IN COORDINATING THE ECONOMY WITH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 31-36

[Article by Thien Nhan]

[Text] Thai Binh is a lowland province that lies along the coastal defense line between the two cities of Haiphong and Nam Dinh, a province that has many important water routes and a coastline stretching for nearly 50 kilometers; it is the only province in the North that has no hills or mountains but it does have many villages surrounded by bamboo hedges that form individual defense lines and a rather dense network of population centers. It is a densely populated province, a province in which there are many buildings and vital economic and national defense targets. The entire province has completed the cooperativization of entire villages. Its cooperatives, which have constantly developed and become increasingly strong and stable through average rice yields of roughly 6 tons per hectare, annually contribute from 1 to 1.5 tons per hectare to the state. Its local industry, although still small, has taken significant strides forward and the various handicraft trades have developed quite well. The standard of living of the people is relatively stable and improvements have been made in certain areas.

Thai Binh is also a province with a long-standing revolutionary tradition and a sense of self-reliance, a province that recorded many outstanding achievements in the wars of resistance against France and the United States. Thai Binh has experience in leading and guiding the people's war and utilizing the combined strength of all the people in the cause of liberation and in defending the locality, defending the fatherland. In the resistance against the French, Thai Binh became experienced in "fighting to defend villages" and coordinating the combat activities of many villages, thereby successfully defending the large guerrilla bases on the left bank of the Red River. In the resistance against the United States, the province sent a higher percentage of its population to reinforce the South than any other province in the North and protected the key targets within the province while maintaining its production and engaging in combat. It was the first province in the North to achieve a yield of 5 tons of paddy per hectare during the resistance against the savage war of destruction waged by the U.S. pirates and the heroic Tien Hai District Company of young militia women is still a unit that is a combat ready unit, a unit ready to defend the locality.

In recent years, on the basis of the characteristics of the province and by developing upon their achievements, the people of Thai Binh have made noteworthy advances in their task of developing the economy and strengthening the national defense system within the locality, thereby meeting the demands of a war to defend the locality, defend the fatherland. One of these noteworthy advances has been the successful coordination of the economy with the national defense within the locality.

Concretizing the general line and tasks of the party in the locality's task of coordinating the economy with the national defense system and thoroughly educating the people in this new task:

On the basis of gaining a correct understanding of the basic situation of our country, the two strategic tasks and the two modes of a people's war to defend the fatherland; on the basis of taking into full consideration the two characteristics of our province as a frontline province and a rear area province and the two important military tasks of being determined to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage of the enemy while preparing ourselves to win victory over a large-scale war of aggression; and on the basis of the specific conditions of the locality itself, Thai Binh defined its fundamental tasks in this area as:

1. Closely coordinating the building of a province that has an industrial-agricultural structure and districts that have an agro-industrial structure with the development of the province into a strategic unit of the national defense system, a tactical campaign unit within the broad campaign combat formation of the military region; building the districts into military fortresses, into basic national defense units and basic combat units of the local people's war within the province; and building the villages and clusters of villages into combat bases that are strong from the perspective of both national defense and the maintenance of security.
2. Making every effort to build up the local armed forces so that they possess the fighting strength needed to serve as the nucleus of all the people and are fully capable of defending the locality and working with main force units to defeat each scheme of aggression of the enemy; attaching importance to building large-scale ready reserve forces that are tightly managed and well trained, thereby insuring timely, large-scale reinforcement of main force troops when war breaks out.
3. Continuing to build installations that are strong and solid in every respect, develop national defense order and discipline among all the people and implement the army's rear area policies well.
4. Having the local armed forces actively participate in production and the development of the economy, thus helping to build the locality, reduce the costs incurred by the state and improve their own standard of living.

Thai Binh has adopted combat plans and basic defense guidelines that are consistent with the situation and tasks of the locality. These plans are plans to guard against and defeat the psychological war, espionage and commando activities, security violations at sea and surprise attacks against

our economic and national defense installations along the seacoast; firmly defend these installations; and make all the necessary preparations for defeating large-scale attacks by the enemy.

In order to successfully carry out the tasks and plans mentioned above, the provincial party committee has issued a resolution and the provincial people's committee and several related sectors adopt plans each year that coordinate the economy with the national defense system. These plans are part of the overall plan of the locality and are designed to make use of the combined strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, of all the people and insure that the general strategy of the province as a whole is implemented. These plans are implemented in one of three ways: jobs that bring the economy and the national defense system closely together such as the development of the marine economy, are strongly promoted; jobs that serve to provide a basic link between the economy and national defense system, such as the construction of bridges and roads, are performed gradually because of the constraints imposed by economic conditions; and jobs that link the economy and the national defense system over the long range but which, in the immediate future, primarily involve national defense needs, such as the construction of some military projects, must be carefully weighed from the perspective of economic and national defense benefits, performed in a selective and planned manner and be brought to the point where they can be completed in their entirety when necessary. As a result, some jobs at some places must be completed in an urgent fashion, other jobs at other places must be performed gradually and nothing is being done in a sweeping fashion, which only creates waste.

Closely coordinating the economy with the national defense system, building the national defense system and making preparations for a local people's war to defend the locality, defend the fatherland constitute a large task. The provincial party committee, the provincial people's committee and the provincial military command have given their attention to providing cadres, party members, the armed forces and the people with the necessary education through various forms of information and propaganda, through the press and conferences, through training and instruction materials within the party schools on the various levels. The purpose of this effort is to give everyone a full understanding of the fundamental viewpoints regarding building the country in conjunction with defending it, closely coordinating the economy with the national defense system, achieving prosperity and winning victory as well as the other requirements regarding coordinating a war of liberation with a war to defend the fatherland. It also the purpose of giving everyone a clear understanding of the schemes and methods of operation of the enemy, especially their war of sabotage as it is being waged under the circumstances of our locality, the new capabilities and strengths of the local armed forces and the specific tasks and work plan of one's locality.

Organizing the jobs to be performed in suitable forms of tasks and plans for coordinating the economy with the national defense system at each place:

In its organizational efforts, the provincial party committee has adopted the following basic guidelines:

--In every aspect of the work involved in building the economy and strengthening the national defense system, from building the material-technical bases of socialism and economic zones to building the battle position of the people's war and the local people's armed forces, we must know how to closely coordinate the economy with the national defense system, the reorganization of production with the organizing of combat operations and must resolve, in a prompt and correct manner, all problems that arise in establishing this coordination with a view toward insuring that all efforts are focused on building the economy while truly strengthening the national defense system so that the economy and the national defense system stimulate each other's development and we can take the initiative in completing both of our strategic tasks, both immediate and long-range tasks within the locality.

--Under the conditions that exist now, the strength of the national defense system and the potential fighting strength of the local armed forces and the ready reserves lie among the people, lie within the different sectors of the economy. On the basis of the planning and plans for coordinating the economy with the national defense system, the responsibilities of the various levels and sectors with regard to organizing and guiding implementation must be codified for the purposes of developing the great strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat system, developing the role of collective ownership played by the people and developing the role played by the local military agency as the competent command staff.

In keeping with these guidelines, the army and people of Thai Binh have successfully performed the following several jobs during the past few years:

1. They have built battle positions throughout the province and focused their efforts on building the defense line of the coastal districts, thus insuring that the national defense system is strengthened and the economy is developed.

The province has been and is closely coordinating the restoration of the in-shore fishing industry with the building and strengthening of the self-defense forces on the water and gradually established the battle position of a people's war in the in-shore waters and the mouths of the major rivers. The province has established and strengthened 11 coastal self-defense units to defend the entire coastal defense line. These units, which have been trained in combat operations at sea and in the disarming of sea mines, have begun to have an impact in the maintenance of security at sea in coordination with their economic tasks of building dikes to reclaim land from the sea and planting mangroves, bamboo, rattan and timber bearing trees. Working with the people, they have developed the marine economy, improved the terrain, and created new residential centers, new villages at strategically important places. As a result, 300 hectares of rushes have been planted at the mouth Tra Ly River and 200 hectares have been planted on the Vanh sand dunes in the Red River. The province has organized a fleet of boats and ships manned by standing forces that serve as the nucleus of the local people's war in the in-shore waters, a fleet which has the tasks of maintaining security and combat readiness while harvesting from 15 to 20 tons of shrimp and fish each year. The province has also deployed forces of the local army and the border defense troops at the mouths of the major rivers in order to turn these places into

key combat bases as well as places that carry out production, plant trees, raise goats and buffalo and develop the marine economy.

In the villages, attention has been given to coordinating the reorganization of production with the reorganization of combat forces in a manner consistent with the new situation and tasks in order to insure the successful performance of production tasks while carrying out the task of maintaining security, combating the war of sabotage of the enemy and maintaining combat readiness. Each village has stationary and mobile combat guerrilla companies. In the villages, we have organized hundreds of national defense security platoons that are closely linked to the production units and well suited to maintaining security and the defense of the nation in the present situation.

The various levels of the party and government have mobilized the people on the frontline as well as the rear line to establish dense plantings of rattan and bamboo along the seacoast, thereby creating the conditions for establishing clusters of combat villages throughout the province, beginning with the establishment of 15 key clusters in the immediate future. The planting of bamboo and rattan has become a production and business sector of cooperatives and has contributed to the building of the garden economy, the household economy and new villages. So far, the province has planted 400,000 bamboo shoots; between now and 1985, we will plant 1 million more bamboo shoots and tens of millions of rattan plants in order to quickly create new economic resources of the locality to support the welfare of the people, exportation and the national defense system on a long-term basis. The province has also attached importance to building permanent projects and field fortifications on the frontline. These fortifications are sturdily built and covered with grass, bamboo and rattan and will be useful for a relatively long period of time.

2. Importance has been attached to building the local armed forces in order to meet the new requirements of combat, to building them in a manner closely linked to production.

The local armed forces consist of local troops, border defense troops and the militia and self-defense forces. Under the present circumstances of a war to defend the locality, defend the fatherland, the strategic position and importance of each force have changed. Although local troops still play the central role, not many of these forces can be organized; therefore, in defensive operations as well as in counter-offensive operations, they only serve as the nucleus and are utilized in a selective manner. The militia and self-defense forces, which are the locality's basic combat forces and possess the greatest fighting strength, perform both tasks of providing a stationary defense and launching counter-attacks. The tasks, organization and buildup of forces, command, training and fighting methods of the militia and self-defense forces have changed since the war of liberation. As a result, in the recent past, together with organizing and building the forces of the local army and the border defense troops, Thai Binh has been focusing its efforts on organizing and building the militia and self-defense forces.

The combat mission of the militia and self-defense forces today not only involves individual persons and individual teams launching scattered attacks

or forces fighting only within their own villages, rather, it also involves launching concerted attacks and coordinating on the scale of clusters of villages, districts and the entire province with the various branches in combat operations from the very outset, with the districts in the rear reinforcing the districts on the front. However, the organization of these forces is still based on the village and the district is the basic combat defense unit of the people's war within the province. At the basic units, the stationary combat guerrilla companies are usually formed through the combination of the squads and platoons of many production units; the organization of mobile guerrilla companies, on the other hand, is closely linked to one or two production units, usually a specialized production unit. They are both production units and combat organizations that have their own party chapter or party cell, their own Youth Union chapter and the person in charge of production is also the combat commander. Discharged military personnel account for 20 to 30 percent of their troop strength and youths account for 60 percent or more. In those villages that have a relatively large troop strength, specialized branches are organized, such as mortar units, anti-aircraft units, engineer units, information units, chemical units and public health units on the scale of squads or platoons. In villages that lie on the edge of the water, we have established combat alert militia platoons or companies that carry out production to meet their own needs, stand guard night and day and maintain a combat ready state without receiving workpoints from the cooperative. As a result of being tightly organized, of having young, able bodied forces and cadres who are skilled in the management of production and skilled in commanding military forces, practically all of the mobile guerrilla units, the guerrilla units specializing in security and national defense work and the combat alert units are good, highly productive production units that meet the requirements of maintaining combat readiness and educate and train youths well.

In order to meet the high requirements of combat, of launching concerted attacks coordinated on the scale of clusters of villages and the mobile battalions of the districts and province while insuring that the requirements involved in developing production are also met, the province has assigned demobilized military personnel, particularly officers, to the command positions within the guerrilla militia forces and considers it important to provide military training and conduct exercises in combat coordination on the scale of clusters of villages and within the scope of the district, exercises in which rear area battalions reinforce the frontline. On the other hand, the province has stipulated that the guerrilla militia forces of units in the rear receive less training time than the guerrilla militia forces of the coastal districts. No more than one-half of training time can be spent away from production. Each year, the province and the Labor Service have implemented a plan to send laborers to the district level to work hundreds of thousands of mandays in training and the construction of national defense projects.

The province has also gradually defined and prepared the conditions needed to implement the methods of fighting that have been established for the province, the districts and the villages. The province and all of its districts have organized their combat operations by territory, with the districts being considered the basic units in the organization of defense lines or in depth defense operations and the providing of local rear services. They constitute

the battle positions of the defense lines, positions where stationary combat forces are deployed by territory; at the same time, they are bases that are prepared and ready to coordinate in combat operations with the main force military corps. Below the districts are the clusters of combat villages, which constitute the basic combat organizations of the district military fortress. Within these clusters of villages, the combat bases are the villages themselves and the cluster, while not an administrative level, does guide production and combat operations in a number of areas. The various branches of the militia and self-defense forces are deployed in a manner that closely coordinates decentralized and centralized forces.

With the gradual strengthening of the local army, it can, depending upon the situation, perform a direct defensive mission, a mobile mission or a rear area support or combat support mission. Attention has been given to correctly guiding the border defense troops ever since they were merged with the armed forces of the province. They are employed primarily in maintaining the security of the locality; if the enemy launches a large-scale attack, they would fight within the formation of the clusters of combat villages.

To insure that the jobs described above are performed well, the provincial party committee and the provincial people's committee have provided close and thorough leadership and guidance, achieved a high degree of consensus and coordination within the various levels and sectors and established a clear division of responsibilities and tasks within a unified plan; in particular, we have made use of the very important role played by the standing committee of the people's committee and by a number of key sectors and the various mass organizations. The provincial party committee has also concerned itself with providing advanced training to the corps of cadres, including military cadres, in order to deepen their knowledge and improve their ability to coordinate the economy with the national defense system.

In the present situation, it is not easy to coordinate the economy with the national defense system. This work demands the flexible application of the party's economic line and military line to the specific circumstances of the locality and demands that we make use of the experiences that have been gained and develop forms of organization and measures that are both suitable and effective. Thai Binh has devoted many efforts to thinking about and taking steps to perform this task well. Developing upon the achievements that have been recorded and overcoming their difficulties and weaknesses, the people of Thai Binh are endeavoring to move forward and make the province one that is politically stable and economically prosperous, a province that is strong in terms of national defense, enjoys a good cultural and spiritual life and meets the requirements involved in building socialism and defending the fatherland.

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CONTINUING TO PROMOTE THE CAMPAIGN TO "DISPLAY THE FINE NATURE AND INCREASE THE FIGHTING STRENGTH" OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 37-40

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The new and important advances that have been made in the quality of our people's armed forces and their successful completion of each assigned task during the past 4 years confirm the important strategic significance of the campaign to "display the fine nature and increase the fighting strength" that was launched by the Party Secretariat on 8 December 1978. In the course of this campaign, our armed forces, together with all the people, have won victory over the war of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; taken an important step forward in raising their overall quality and fighting strength and made much progress toward becoming a regular force and modern army; successfully performed its international task in Kampuchea and Laos; further strengthened the national defense system and strengthened both the defensive posture and defense forces of the country; made many efforts to carry out its economic construction task; trained well and developed the strength needed to win victory over the wide-ranging war of sabotage now being waged by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists while being ready to win victory over a large-scale war of aggression should they recklessly unleash one. It can be said that the vast majority of the units of the army have made progress; some units have made rapid progress and the small number of once weak and deficient units have also changed for the better in a number of respects.

The campaign has provided good experiences in education, in improving the qualities and capabilities of the people's armed forces and in guiding the army's emulation movement.

However, in order to develop upon the achievements that have been recorded, effectively correct the weaknesses and deficiencies that still exist, fully meet the requirements of the campaign and make our army "a revolutionary people's army that possess an unshakeable determination to win, is tightly disciplined, maintains a serious style, becomes a more regular force and modern army with each passing day, constantly raises its level of combat readiness and always fulfills each task assigned by the fatherland"(1), the

Party Secretariat has decided that our army must continue to carry out this campaign during the 3 years from 1983 to 1985.

At present, the central political task of the people's armed forces is to continuously make improvements to the defensive posture of the country so that it is truly a strong posture; make good preparations for and raise the level of combat readiness; raise their overall quality; and build the material-technical bases of the national defense system. At the same time, they must perform their economic construction task and international task well. These are very large responsibilities for our people's armed forces.

To insure that these tasks are carried out, the campaign will continue to be conducted under the five requirements that were set forth but must focus on successfully resolving the following important problems:

1. Raising the revolutionary will and the spirit of responsibility of cadres and party members, especially the leadership and command cadres on the various echelons, beginning with high level and middle level cadres; bringing about a strong change in the situation surrounding compliance with the laws of the state and discipline of the army; establishing very good internal solidarity, especially between cadres and soldiers; and solidifying the flesh and blood relationship between the army and the people.
2. Managing and maintaining the various types of weapons, vehicles, machinery, supplies, fuel and other property of the army very well, using them in a highly efficient manner and not allowing acts against socialist property to occur within the army.
3. Organizing the material, spiritual and cultural lives of cadres and soldiers well, especially at units on the frontline; promoting increased production and the practice of strict frugality; maintaining and improving the quality of daily meals; and insuring that the distribution standards of soldiers are met.

The problems mentioned above are key problems; at the same time, they are the practical and pressing issues of the campaign. They are the basic, immediate issues that must be resolved in order to display the fine nature and increase the fighting strength of our people's armed forces.

To a revolutionary army, an army of the people, a strong will, a high sense of responsibility, strict discipline and good unity are always considered to be the basic factors of foremost importance, the factors of most decisive significance in the nature and fighting strength of the army. These factors must always be firmly maintained and enhanced under all circumstances. Cadres and party members, especially leadership and command cadres, must serve as the nucleus in the effort to maintain and develop upon these factors among the armed forces. At this point in time, will and responsibility primarily involve being determined to overcome every difficulty and hardship; placing the interests of the fatherland, of the people above everything else; maintaining combat readiness and fighting victoriously; defeating each scheme and act of sabotage and aggression of the Beijing expansionists and other hegemonists carried out in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other

reactionaries; fulfilling our international obligation; and, at the same time, working enthusiastically alongside the people in order to perform economic tasks well. This will and this responsibility are closely associated with strict discipline and the spirit of close, strong unity within the armed forces and in the relationship between the army and the people, which create the unparalleled political and moral strength of our army in the present situation. This fine nature is the foundation for achieving a greater impact from the factors of material strength.

Our party considers it very important to build, cultivate and increase moral strength; at the same time, it also considers it very important to build and develop upon the material strength of the army. The socialist property within the army is the source of this material strength. This property is of especially important significance and must be considered sacred, considered inviolable. Our entire army and all our people have the obligation of protecting this property. However, the cadres and soldiers within the army are persons who have been given the responsibility by the party and people of directly maintaining and using this property well. Our army must display a high spirit of responsibility, a high sense of discipline and improve its ability to manage the socialist property within the army, insuring that its use is increasingly effective.

The material strength of the army also originates in the material, cultural and spiritual lives of cadres and soldiers. Maintaining the quality of their material lives and their cultural and spiritual activities is an important prerequisite to developing the strength and improving the overall quality of the army. Under the difficult conditions that exist now, the organizing of daily life plays a very important role. It is mainly the responsibility of the commander, of party work and political work, not merely the responsibility of the rear service component. At the same time, it is necessary to develop the role played by each person as a collective master and each person's dynamism and creativity must be tapped in order to develop suitable and correct measures and create a more comfortable material life as well as a better spiritual and cultural life within each unit and at each place.

The actual experience of the past 4 years has shown that in order for the campaign to meet its increasingly high requirements, it is of decisive significance that we attach full importance to building pure, strong and solid basic organizations of the party to take the lead in increasing the fighting strength of each unit. At those places where the basic organization of the party is pure, solid and strong, a firm foundation exists for the entire unit to try to achieve the objectives of the campaign through "determined to win" emulation movements. At places where the basic organizations of the party are pure, solid and strong it is possible, even under difficult and complex circumstances, to still thoroughly carry out specific political tasks and set increasingly high targets in emulation movements. Pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party routinely concern themselves with giving cadres and party members a thorough understanding of the revolutionary line and task and the military task of the party and a clear understanding of the difference between the enemy and ourselves, the difference between socialism and capitalism in coordination with cultivating, forging and improving upon revolutionary qualities and maintaining a pure style of life; concern

themselves with strengthening their internal unity and firmly adhering to the principles of party life; concern themselves with building a corps of cadres, especially leadership and command cadres, who possess good qualities and skills, set examples in everything they do, possess a strict sense of organization and discipline and a high spirit of responsibility, are loyal, always desire to make progress and are truly the leading force of the movement. These basic organizations of the party also attach importance to leading the Youth Union organization within the unit and utilizing its shock role.

With the pure, solid and strong basic organizations of the party as their nucleus, all types of basic units within the army must become thoroughly familiar with the requirements of the campaign and adopt suitable forms of activity and measures for carrying it out. However, in the present situation, in order to successfully resolve the most pressing problems that have a direct influence upon the overall quality of our army, in order for the movement to develop in a uniform and steady manner, attention must first be given to those basic units performing combat missions, basic units at which many middle level and high level cadres are assigned and basic units that manage much property, many materials and much technical equipment of the army. Each type basic unit has its own importance. However, we cannot develop a solid movement if we only attach importance to building those basic units that are performing a combat mission.

The commanders on the various levels absolutely must be the persons who directly guide and manage the campaign within their unit and locality because they are the persons who directly learn the intentions and requirements of the upper level, issue orders and directives to the lower level and guide each agency and unit in operating in accordance with the general plan. Commanders must also personally evaluate pilot projects units in order to guide them and increase the number of model units.

The emulation councils on the various levels must be strengthened organizationally and truly fulfill their role in implementing the system of inspections, preliminary reviews and final reviews; widely disseminating experiences; promptly developing upon new factors; awarding praise and commendations; developing upon the role played by good model units; and, at the same time, initiate action in cases involving violations of the discipline of the army and the laws of the state.

In order for the campaign to develop in depth, to develop among each cadre, each soldier and each national defense worker and personnel, it is very necessary that we intensify political and ideological education by means of spirited forms of activity suited to each type basic unit through the army. The basic requirements of this educational effort are to give cadres, soldiers and national defense workers and personnel a thorough understanding of each line, position and policy of the party and state; give them a clear understanding of the situation and tasks of the revolution and the armed forces; make them increasingly aware of the nature and schemes of the Chinese reactionaries and U.S. imperialists; and show them that China's policy toward Vietnam and the three countries of Indochina has never changed but has,

instead, become even more hostile toward us. This is the ideological foundation for raising their will to fight and spirit of responsibility.

In order for the campaign to achieve increasingly high results, the armed forces themselves must, of course, make continuous efforts. However, in the present situation, the close leadership provided by the various party committee echelons and the close guidance and heartfelt assistance provided by the government and the people play an even larger role. In the spirit of the entire party and all the people working to build up the armed forces and strengthen the national defense system, the various sectors, mass organizations and localities must closely coordinate with the armed forces; in particular, the various party committee echelons must give their attention to providing leadership and utilizing the combined strength of the entire dictatorship of the proletariat in order to carry out this campaign well. Therefore, one requirement of foremost importance in organizational work and guidance is the need to coordinate this campaign with the revolutionary movements within the locality so that they stimulate one another's development.

Clearly aware of the importance and the significance of the campaign, on the basis of the experiences that have been summarized and with their efforts directed toward the targets to be met between now and 1985, targets closely associated with such major holidays as the anniversary of the founding of the party, the anniversary of the founding of the country, the anniversary of the founding of the army, the anniversary of the victory at Dien Bien Phu, the anniversary of the liberation of the South, the anniversary of the victory over the Chinese aggressor army and so forth, all cadres and soldiers of the People's Armed Forces must display a high degree of determination to successfully carry out this campaign in order to fully meet the high requirements they face. All levels and sector must, in accordance with their responsibilities and task, actively contribute to the victory of the campaign. This victory will surely create even more favorable conditions for our army to become a regular force, modern army and fulfill the tasks assigned to it by the party and people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, p 45.

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## STRIVING TO USHER IN A NEW PERIOD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 41-46

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Under the leadership of the party, our press is an outstanding revolutionary press. Over the past half-century and more, our press has recorded excellent achievements and made large contributions to the great victories of the nation. Our press is worthy of being among the most progressive press networks of the world today.

Eight years after the liberation of the South, the reunification of the country and the start of the entire country's advance to socialism, our press has made "tremendous efforts to disseminate the viewpoints, lines and policies of the party, disseminate progressive thinking, knowledge of science and technology and cultural and artistic achievements of our nation and mankind."(1) In the cause of reunifying the country, in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the country, in implementing the right of collective ownership of the working people, in socialist transformation, in the start of the construction of the construction of the material-technical bases of socialism, in the improvement of the economic management system, in the establishment of the new culture and the molding of the new man as well as in the fight against the Chinese aggressors and the fight against their wide-ranging war of sabotage, our press has always played its role as the agitator, propagandist and collective organizer. The press profession has been further elevated. The relations between the press and the masses have been improved. The mass media have been strengthened and developed in a relatively complete fashion: the country now has more than 200 newspapers, reviews and journals and hundreds of periodic newsletters and internal publications. The Vietnam News Agency has broadened its operations and acquired a significant material-technical base. In addition to the Voice of Vietnam Radio, there are 40 radio stations in the provinces and municipalities, more than 400 district and city wired radio stations and 4,000 installation wired radio stations. In addition to the central television station, there are the Ho Chi Minh Television Station, seven stations in other localities and six television relay stations. All of these supplement one another and combine to form a single strength for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of propaganda. The corps of journalists, which now stretches over four generations, has grown to nearly 6,000 persons, 65 percent

of whom are below the age of 40 and 42 percent of whom have a college or post-graduate education; it also includes nearly 3,000 youths of the Vietnam Journalists Association. This is a dependable corps that has experienced challenges and is still unswervingly loyal to the revolution, to the vanguard party. Besides this corps, there is the large corps of collaborators--non professional journalists--that work in all sectors and localities of the country and a corps of publishing workers, technicians and cadres who are rich in experience.

Although tremendous efforts have been made, although significant achievements have been recorded and assigned tasks have been basically completed, compared to the requirements of the revolution, our press has displayed many shortcomings and weaknesses during the past several years. The art of information is not highly developed and the volume of information provided is still small; commentaries are neither timely nor incisive. Not many articles are highly persuasive and only a few present matters of theory, matters of practical significance in providing guidance based on specific phenomena. The various types of reporting, such as eyewitness reports, feature reports, investigative reports and so forth do not attract large numbers of readers, listeners or viewers. Generally speaking, the press is still poor compared to the richness of revolutionary reality and the intelligence of the party; the forms it employs do not attract the public; its level of technology and art of expression have only been slightly improved; and, as a result, the ideological nature, the quality and the effectiveness of our press are still limited. There are many reasons for this, such as the facts that the revolution is entering a new stage, the public is changing, material-technical bases are still underdeveloped and so forth; however, more important is the fact that our corps of journalists has not been prepared well--prepared politically and ideologically, prepared in terms of knowledge and professional skills--to advance into the new stage of the revolution. As a result, the ideological character, the practical nature, the honesty, the militancy and the mass nature of our press are not high. "The press is a revolutionary weapon and its work demands both science and art."(2) Journalists, who are militants within the shock army on the ideological front must grasp both the science and the art of the press profession.

Pointing out that the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new situation are to successfully build socialism while maintaining combat readiness and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland, the 5th Congress of the Party once again confirmed the correctness of the line on the socialist revolution and the line on the building of the socialist economy that were set forth at the 4th Party Congress. The congress further defined this general line and this economic line in the initial stage of the period of transition in our country and set the general socio-economic goals for the 1980's. In keeping with this spirit, the 3rd, 4th and 5th Plenums of the Party set forth our immediate economic and social tasks and pointed out the pressing ideological and organizational problems that must be resolved to insure the successful performance of these tasks.

The platform of the party provides the guidelines, objectives and basic elements guiding each activity of our press.

In the new stage of the revolution, our press "must propagandize the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building the socialist economy set forth by the party, continue to teach about the nation's glorious tradition of struggle and strongly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people in all fields, using this as the moving force in the effort to successfully carry out the three revolutions, insure the successful construction of socialism and insure the firm defense of the socialist fatherland."(3) Whereas the central theme of our press in past years was the determination to fight and win victory for independence, freedom and socialism, today, it is the sense of self-reliance, the determination to build a prosperous country under socialism and make every effort to strengthen the national defense system while maintaining our readiness to win victory over every kind of war launched by the enemy. Our press, therefore, must provide each stratum of the people, each age group with a deep understanding of scientific socialism as it specifically applies in Vietnam, a clear view of the country's situation and basic knowledge of science and technology and economic and social management in direct support of production and everyday life. It must also cultivate the zeal, the will and the abilities of the collective master of the country in order to successfully implement the positions and policies of the party and state.

By means of scientific reasoning and living practice, our press must make positive contributions to giving our entire party and all our people a thorough understanding of the basic viewpoints embodied in the party's line on the socialist revolution and its line on building the socialist economy and improve everyone's ability to perform practical work, primarily among cadres, with a view toward successfully carrying out the socio-economic tasks established by the party and state. Our press must help everyone to clearly understand the situation surrounding our country's revolution and strongly confirm our victories, confirm those things that are correct, good and new so that everyone is enthusiastic and proud; at the same time, it must point out and correctly analyze the causes of difficulties, weaknesses and deficiencies, criticize incorrect tendencies and mistaken points of view and correct all thoughts reflecting skepticism and vacillation in the course of implementing the line and policies of the party and state.

Our press must continue to show everyone that the basic enemy of our people is the U.S. imperialists and that the immediate, dangerous enemy of our people is the reactionary disciples of the big country expansionism and hegemony of China, reactionaries who are nurturing a scheme to annex Vietnam and Indochina in order to open the way for the annexation of all Southeast Asia. It must be clearly pointed out that, although they have been defeated numerous times, the Chinese reactionaries have never changed their strategy or tactics but have, instead, displayed even greater hostility toward us. On this basis, the press must teach everyone to display greater vigilance in the face of the malicious schemes and tricks of the enemy in order to defeat their wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country and must mobilize everyone to be ready to fight in defense of the fatherland.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism, which is the basic feature of the period of transition to socialism, is occurring in every field of life. Our press has the responsibility of making everyone clearly aware of the

sharp, complex and protracted nature of this struggle in view of the specific circumstances of our country at this time and thwart the schemes of the reactionaries to arise again and the actions they take to oppose and undermine the revolution. By clarifying and explaining the close coordination between transformation and construction, we must have a strong impact upon the transformation of agriculture and the transformation of private, capitalist industry and commerce, small industry and the handicraft trades; the strengthening and development of the state-operated economy; the building and management of the collective economy; the improvement of inspection and control work; and the enforcement of the socialist system of law, thereby contributing to the improvement of the economic management system and specific economic policies. In the immediate future, our press must take the initiative and actively participate in the effort to restore order in every field of life, beginning in distribution and circulation, by harshly denouncing exploiters, profiteers, smugglers, persons who earn their livings illegally, persons who steal public property and so forth.

Teaching and cultivating revolutionary qualities and virtues, establishing the new culture and molding the new man are the constant tasks of our press; at this point in time, these tasks have assumed even greater importance and urgency. Whereas our press was primarily a resistance war press in past years, a press that focused its efforts on praising the revolutionary heroism that emerged in the armed struggle, today, the salient and constant themes of our press are working, working in a disciplined, technical, highly productive manner, working for everyone else and for oneself. The skilled worker is the central character of our press in the new stage of the revolution. To emphasize the role of the worker, the socialist style of work is to emphasize the most basic characteristics of the new, fully developed man, of the new, socialist style of life. Our press, which has an important role to play in "taking the first steps in the creation of a society that possesses a beautiful style of life"(4) must wage a determined struggle against the lifestyles of exploitation, parasitism, laziness, selfishness and decadence; rid us of the poisons of the culture of colonialism, both old-style colonialism and neo-colonialism; abolish the influences of bourgeois and feudal thinking; correct the negative phenomena being displayed by more than a few cadres at this time, the phenomena of rightism, a lack of vigilance, bureaucracy, irresponsibility, a lack of discipline, skepticism and pessimism; and uphold the pure revolutionary quality and virtue of "one for all."

Our press is also a competent medium in popularizing knowledge of the economy and the technical sciences among our cadres and people.

In the new stage of the revolution, it is even more necessary for our press to fulfill its role as a component of the world socialist press. It has the task of spreading the voice of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam far and wide in the international arena and give the people of the world a clear understanding of the realities of our country, a clear understanding of our line on building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland and, in this manner, win the increasing widespread sympathy and support of progressive mankind. On the other hand, it must lend its efforts to the struggle to resolve the question "who triumphs over whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism throughout the world and clarify the stand and viewpoints of our party and

state regarding such major issues of our times as our uniting with the countries of Indochina, with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; our supporting the struggle for independence, democracy and social progress throughout the world; and our active participation in the struggle of the people of the world to safeguard peace and protect life, their struggle against the arms race and the preparations for a nuclear war being made by the United States, thus threatening all mankind. In this way, our press can teach proletarian internationalism and participate in the implementation of our party's foreign policy.

The tasks of our press and the issues that it must raise and help to resolve are clearly different and much broaden than they once were. Today, the revolution demands that our press become deeply involved in each field of life, in building the new society, building the new economy, establishing the new culture, molding the new man and cultivating new relations.

The situation on the press front has also undergone important changes. The technological revolution in the field of communications that is now occurring in the world demands that we learn how to develop upon existing capabilities, modernize our knowledge and improve our methods of working. The exchanges between our country and other countries are becoming increasingly broad but the imperialists and other international reactionary powers are making greater use of their huge mass media to oppose and undermine socialism and the three revolutionary currents of our times. The reactionary disciples of Chinese big country expansionism and hegemony are waging a wide-ranging war of sabotage against our country. In particular, the objectives that our press must support have rapidly increased in number and changed in a substantive manner. Our press now stands before a large and diverse public, a public that has taken long political and cultural strides forward, a public in which the majority of the persons are youths and teenagers who are well educated, are eager to become involved in science and technology and have a large need for new, varied and high quality information.

"The masses and the revolution demand that all mass media achieve a stronger ideological character, higher quality and better results...become more practical in nature, more honest and militant, achieve a higher level of technical development and become more skilled in the art of expression and presentation."(5) Our press will surely meet these demands.

Let us provide the best possible information and as much information as possible. Let us provide timely, accurate and representative news, news that reflects clear guidelines and viewpoints, reflects the value of discovery, reflects the various processes of revolutionary actions taken by the masses to record achievements and gain results. Let us provide commentaries that are highly general in nature, analyze the essence of issues, summarize the practical actions of the masses and provide experiences of a theoretical nature for use in guiding the masses. The other media must also move forward under these guidelines. Only in this way is it possible for our press to reflect high ideological consciousness and play a profound role in providing both education and guidance. The successful experiences recorded by our press during the past several years, especially in economic propaganda, verify this.

Keeping abreast of life in all its dynamism; promptly reporting new factors, pointing out that new factors represent development in accordance with laws and molding these new factors into models and broadening them into movements; and inspiring each village, subward, precinct, district, production installation, business and work unit to move forward and win concrete victories each day, victories that lead toward established goals--these are the guidelines for heightening the practical nature of our press.

Faithfully reflecting the basic situation of the revolution, going to the heart of imperfect reality, of difficult issues and pointing out the great achievements that have been recorded, the shortcomings and mistakes that exist, the basic advantages we have in our favor, the difficulties that must be overcome and the path to be followed by the revolution in its advance--such honesty on the part of our press is closely associated with its party consciousness.

The militancy of our press demands that it attack and swiftly, appropriately refute the distorted arguments of the enemy. And, "while praising 'good persons and good work,' it must discover and introduce advanced models, must harshly criticize shortcomings and mistakes within the party and society and generate widespread public opinion supporting that which is correct and struggling relentlessly against that which is incorrect."(6) The practice of harsh criticism and self-criticism of a mass nature within the press must become a wholesome practice. Long ago, our party instructed: "All newspapers on the central and local levels (...)must, on the basis of having a full understanding of their common task and the specific tasks that they must perform during each period, regularly engage in criticism and self-criticism of a mass nature regarding the activities of the party organizations, government, mass organizations, specialized sectors, cadres, party members and personnel in the performance of political tasks, considering this to be an important expression of the militancy of each newspaper."(7) Public criticism and self-criticism of a correct, mass nature conducted through our press are a form of democratic activity, are a way to uphold the right of collective ownership of the people for the purpose of insuring that the viewpoints and lines of the party and the socialist system of law are thoroughly understood within each field of work and life.

To further strengthen its ties with the masses, our press must not only raise issues with which the masses are concerned, but must also provide a forum within which the masses can exercise collective ownership and serve as a bridge between the masses and the party.

Finally, it is necessary to always improve and raise the technical qualifications of our press and its skills in the art of expression and presentation, with every possible effort being made to avoid publishing newspapers that are official newspapers, are put together on the basis of formulas, are produced from the same mold, are indulgent or contain long articles rich in imagery but lacking in effectiveness.

Of course, in improving the quality and effectiveness of the press, the key element at this time is to train the corps of journalists. Our present corps of journalists has the outstanding strongpoint of being loyal and devoted to

the cause of the revolution; however, it also has the very serious weaknesses of low qualifications, in general, and a greatly limited grasp of theory, culture and the profession. The number of skilled, famous journalists is small. We are not persons who worship talent and give light attention to the mass nature of our press. However, the press, as an effective weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must have a corps of professional journalists and our journalists must fully meet two standards: first, they must be loyal and dedicated; secondly, they must be highly qualified in the fields of theory, politics, culture and their profession. Without these qualifications, how can they apply the world view and methodology of Marxism-Leninism and the lines and policies of the party for the purposes of recognizing reality as it exists and summarizing it well? How can they present news with the "force of an entire army"; how can they write commentaries that resolve complex ideological problems; how can they write investigative reports that are exposes and move persons? Therefore, of importance to us at this time is the need for a loyal, dedicated corps of journalists who possess an abundance of skills; in particular, attention must be given to discovering talented persons for training as skilled journalists--which is a pressing problem if we are to develop worthy successors to today's journalists.

Our press is a proletarian press, a press that President Ho Chi Minh laid the foundations for and guided, a press being led by the party of the Vietnamese working class. It has a very heroic history, a history in which it can take very much pride because the leaders of the revolution and the leaders of the Vietnamese revolution were, at the same time, the first and most outstanding proletarian journalists of Vietnam. Our press fulfilled its glorious mission during the period in which the party was founded and we seized political power (1925-1945) and during the revolutionary war and the liberation of the nation (1945-1975). As it enters this third great period of the Vietnamese revolution, our press, upholding its fine traditions, developing upon the newest achievements of the past 8 years and displaying every greater revolutionary zeal and responsibility, will surely prove itself worthy of being the socialist press of heroic Vietnam.

For the sake of the socialist fatherland, for the sake of the happiness of the people, we Vietnamese journalists are determined to keep pace with the requirements of our new tasks and make the greatest possible contribution to turning the party's Platform of the Socialist Revolution into living reality, beginning by insuring the total victory of socialism in the sharp and complex struggle between the two ways of life and usher in a new period in the development of Vietnam's press.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Proceedings of the 5th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume 1, p 102.
2. Le Duan: speech to the editors-in-chief of local newspapers, 24 October 1983, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 27 October 1983.
3. Ibid.

4. The Proceedings of the 5th Congress, p 93.
5. Ibid., p 103.
6. The resolution of the 4th Plenum of the 5th Party Central Committee, p 31.
7. Political Bureau Directive 197/CT-TU dated 13 March 1972 "On Broadening the Practice of Criticism within the Press."

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## THE PROGRESS MADE BY DAC LAC PROVINCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 47-52

[Article by Y Ngong Niek Dam, secretary of the Dac Lac Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] Dac Lac, a province that lies in the center of the Central Highlands, ranges in altitude from 350 to 2,000 meters and has 1.9 million hectares of farmland, which includes 1.1 million hectares of forest and forest land with rather large timber reserves. The province has much fertile, red basalt soil that is especially well suited to the development of forests, industrial crops and the horned species of livestock, on the basis of which it can develop the agricultural and forestry product processing industries and create sources of export goods that produce a large output of products of high economic value.

This is not to mention the mineral resources that are now being explored; if developed well, the land and forests of the province alone will be sufficient to not only meet the requirements of economic development and the improvement of the standard of living of the province's people, but also make an important contribution to the economic development of the entire country.

Having gained a thorough understanding of the party's line on carrying out socio-economic construction and development within the mountain provinces, the party and people of Dac Lac have made continuous efforts since liberation day and recorded achievements and advances in all areas of economic transformation and development, the strengthening of the security and national defense systems, the improvement of education and public health and the building of the party, the government and the mass organizations, as a result of which important changes have occurred in the socio-economic life of the ethnic minorities within the province.

Encouraging results have been achieved in agricultural production. The amount of area under the cultivation of rice has increased rapidly, from only 900 hectares of wet rice in 1975 to 21,000 hectares in 1982. The production of beans of all types increased from 9,300 hectares in 1976 to 16,500 hectares in 1982. The amount of area under the cultivation of annual and perennial industrial crops, such as sugarcane, tobacco, coffee, rubber and so forth has also rapidly increased, thereby creating large sources of raw materials for the development of the processing industry. Livestock production has taken significant strides forward in recent years; between 1975 and 1982, the

buffalo herd increased 2.5 times, the cattle herd doubled in size and the hog herd tripled in size. As a result of expanding the amount of area under cultivation in a manner closely linked to the practice of intensive cultivation, the yield and output of all crops have risen. Grain output rose during the 3 years from 1980 to 1982 and has stabilized at the level of 146,000-157,000 tons, a 2.5 increase compared to 1975. The amount of grain produced per capita rose from 214 kilograms in 1975 to 300 kilograms in 1982 (even though the population was 1.5 times larger in 1982 than in 1975). Whereas we once experienced an acute shortage of grain and had to annually receive roughly 5,000 tons of rice in aid from the central level, our province has now achieved virtual self-sufficiency in grain and eliminated the chronic hunger that existed among the ethnic minorities. These results, although only initial ones, have laid the foundation for us to continue our effort to fully resolve the grain problem and are a springboard upon which we can develop the economic strength of the province and gain the participation of more labor from the lowland provinces in the building of new economic zones.

As regards the development of forestry, we have taken many important steps to coordinate the planting, repair, harvesting and conservation of the forests. As a result, during the past 7 years, our province planted 7,250 hectares of forests and harvested 565,000 cubic meters of timber. Deserving of attention is that our province has, in the process of providing guidance, created a number of model units, foremost among which is the Ea Sup Federation of Enterprises in forestry and industry. These model units have helped to chart the province's course in coordinating agriculture and forestry and encouraging the settlement of nomads in a manner closely linked to building the collective economy and developing the household economy among the ethnic minorities.

Although we had to concentrate our efforts (especially during the early years) on resolving the grain problem, our province has made many efforts to develop its potentials and increase the production of export goods. In the space of 7 years (1975-1982), our province delivered to the state 22,000 tons of coffee and 19,000 cubic meters of flooring boards, which amounted to 120 dong in exports per capita per year.

In the field of distribution and circulation, our provincial party organization has adopted positive policies and measures designed to strengthen market management and combat such negative phenomena as profiteering, smuggling, price gouging, the manufacture of fake products and so forth while strongly developing the distribution-circulation organization and management system from the provincial level to the districts, villages and basic units, as a result of which we have limited the negative phenomena within the field.

In conjunction with developing the economy, significant results have also been achieved in the maintenance of political security within the province. We broke up a major portion of the organization of the FULRO reactionaries, effectively thwarted their acts of sabotage and built and strengthened the government on all levels, the forces of the army, militia and self-defense forces, the mass organizations, etc.

In its 7 years of leading and guiding socio-economic development, the Dac Lac party organization has constantly grown in size and improved in quality. More and more cadres and party members have been trained among the ethnic

minorities; they and the cadres and party members that have come from other places to reinforce our province love, respect and are united with one another, thereby creating a strength that has led the ethnic minorities of the province in overcoming every difficulty and completing the tasks assigned by the party and state.

Besides the results that have been achieved, our province is still experiencing difficulties and shortcomings. To begin with, within the economy, there is still imbalance between the need for capital and materials and the limited ability of the state to provide them to the production units of the province; industrial production, small industry and handicraft production, forestry and so forth have developed slowly, are not meeting requirements and are not balanced with existing capabilities. The management system is still heavily administrative and bureaucratic, still characterized by one level taking over the work of another, by conservatism and stagnation and has restricted production and thwarted the spirit of initiative and creativity of the sectors, levels and ethnic minorities in the development of the potentials and strengths of the province. Many negative phenomena within society, especially in the field of distribution and circulation, persist and have been corrected slowly.

The government apparatus and the agencies guiding the economy are still weak and ineffective; the corps of economic management cadres, state management cadres and scientific-technical cadres within the province, although it has been strengthened somewhat, is still inadequate and weak, especially the management apparatus on the district and basic levels. Ideological and organizational work are still weak. This situation has more than slightly affected the implementation of the line and policies of the party and the directives and resolutions of the province.

In the process of striving to move forward, although weaknesses still exist, our province has created new and positive factors that lay the foundation for socio-economic development in the years ahead.

Like many other mountain provinces, the economic strengths of Dac Lac Province lie in its forests, industrial crops and species of large livestock. However, in order to develop these strengths, we must bring about the settlement of nomads and receive additional labor from other places. Thus, the province must fully resolve its grain problem. The important question facing our province is whether we should try to achieve self-sufficiency in grain or rely upon aid from the central level. Correctly choosing between these two courses is a matter of decisive significance to the entire process of socio-economic development within the province.

A look at the natural economic conditions and labor force of Dac Lac Province shows that the province is fully capable of achieving self-sufficiency in grain. To our province, achieving self-sufficiency in grain is a matter of economic significance as well as political significance. Only by resolving the grain problem can we stabilize the living conditions of the people, strengthen the confidence of the ethnic minorities in the party and the new system and, at the same time, lay the ground work for developing the trade sector, developing the potentials and strengths of the mountain province and

organizing production on the basis of an industrial-agricultural-forestry economic structure.

To resolve the grain problem, we must first promote water conservancy, bring about the settlement of nomads, practice intensive cultivation, build fields and expand the amount of area under the cultivation of wet rice. Under the conditions of our province, considering water conservancy to be the measure of foremost importance is not only of significance from the perspective of a technical measure in intensive cultivation, but is also of importance from the perspective of changing the outmoded customs and attitudes of the ethnic minorities and improving the environment within our territory.

For generations, the people of Dac Lac have never constructed water conservancy projects, consequently, they do not believe that water conservancy projects can be constructed on our basalt soil through which water drains quickly. In Dac Lac Province, where the dry season lasts for 5 to 6 months (no rain at all), providing water during this season not only makes it possible to establish large fields of wet rice, but also has a direct impact upon the daily lives of the ethnic minorities in the mountains. Our province decided at the very outset to direct its water conservancy effort toward retaining water and creating water sources. In keeping with the guideline "the state and the people working together," we have constructed numerous medium and small-scale water conservancy projects; at the same time, we have constructed a number of large water conservancy projects at places that have had the necessary conditions. In the space of only 5 years (1976-1980), the people of Dac Lac constructed 117 small-scale water conservancy projects and 40 medium projects capable of irrigating 20,000 hectares of winter-spring rice, built reservoirs with dams dozens of meters high and dug many canals dozens of kilometers in length.

The results that we have achieved from our water conservancy work, although only initial results, have made an important contribution to resolving the grain problem, changing the face of the countryside, changing old habits and creating favorable conditions for the settlement of nomads and the opening of new economic zones while building stronger unity among the ethnic minorities and stimulating the development of the new production relations.

As a result of performing good water conservancy work, the amount of area under the cultivation of wet rice has increased rapidly and the cultivation of rice on slash and burn fields has gradually declined. However, the province still has roughly 30,000 hectares of slash and burn rice, which account for three-fifths of the area under cultivation and two-fifths of the rice output of the entire province. The destruction of forests to make slash and burn fields is still very serious. Today, the province has more than 400,000 hectares of barren hills and eroded land, water sources have declined and abnormal changes in the climate have caused serious harm to the environment in which we live. At this juncture, our provincial party organization faces the task of how to put an end to the indiscriminate destruction of the forests and still continue to firmly resolve the grain problem.

The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: "The provinces and districts of the mountains must develop their strengths, move forward on the basis of agriculture and forestry and use their arable land under the

guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry." To implement these guidelines, it is first of all necessary to promote intensive cultivation and multicropping on all land now under the cultivation of wet rice, dry land rice and subsidiary food crops; expand the cultivation of wet rice through medium and small-scale water conservancy projects at those places that have been surveyed and planned for these projects; and closely link the effort to cover our barren hills with vegetation and improve the forests so that they achieve their full regrowth potential with the companion cropping of food and grain crops under the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry.

Our province has many species of plantlife that are of high economic value, such as timber bearing trees, long-term industrial crops (rubber, coffee and so forth), annual industrial crops, grain crops, food crops, etc. The important question we face is how to arrange and organize them within an efficient allocation of crops on each type soil under the guideline of coordinating agriculture and forestry with a view toward insuring that we build forest resources and develop the production of industrial crops while continuing to resolve the grain problem. In recent years, we have seen the emergence of several units that are models of coordinating agriculture and forestry and achieving the settlement of nomads by developing the garden economy and expanding the cultivation of wet rice and by assigning land and forests to production collectives and cooperatives and implementing the use of product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers. By working in this direction, our province is fully capable of overcoming every difficulty, putting an end to the destruction of the forests, achieving self-sufficiency in grain, establishing grain reserves and rapidly developing the strengths that lie in its forests, industrial crops and species of large livestock. And, on this basis, we can stimulate the development of the industrial sectors (such as hydroelectric power, communications-transportation, building materials, machine repair, the food products industry and so forth), small industry and the handicraft trades within the province, thereby helping to rapidly establish the industrial-agricultural-forestry economic structure of the province.

As is the case with all ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands, the ethnic minorities of Dac Lac Province are advancing to socialism under circumstances in which they are still heavily influenced by the remnants of the tribal system with its distribution based on averages, a system that existed on the basis of nomadism, of making slash and burn fields using very rudimentary implements and very backward farming techniques.

With a view toward changing the socio-economic situation, our provincial party organization has adopted the policy of simultaneously liberating production forces and establishing the new production relations. One issue of important, immediate significance in liberating production forces is that of achieving success in the settlement of nomads. Because, only by bringing about the settlement of nomads can we put an end to the destruction of the forests and establish the conditions needed to improve and harvest the forests and forest land in an efficient manner and apply technological advances in production in order to achieve higher economic returns, thereby helping to improve the living conditions of the ethnic minorities.

In our province, the implementation of such commonplace farming techniques as building water conservancy projects, building embankments, retaining water, using fertilizer, planting and protecting the forests and so forth as well as the use of draft buffalo and cattle and the ordinary implements that are used by farmers everywhere else constitute a revolution to change the backward farming habits that have existed for thousands of years among the ethnic minorities.

The settlement of nomads and the application of technical farming measures for the purpose of developing production must be closely linked to the transformation of existing production relations and the establishment of the new production relations. This is one of the basic issues determining the course of development of our province.

The important requirement facing our provincial party organization is adopting suitable forms of organization and stages of development that will rapidly develop the potentials and strengths of a mountain province.

One feature of the ethnic minorities within our province that stands out is that because their production is based on nomadism, they have no clearly defined idea of what the private ownership of cropland is. This is one of the important foundations upon which our province has relied in determining the forms of organization to be employed in the transformation of production relations, in rapidly advancing the ethnic minorities to socialism.

When the settlement of nomads is brought about on the basis of coordinating agriculture and forestry and closely linking the garden economy to the expansion of wet rice cultivation, it is possible to immediately establish cooperatives of appropriate size. By this method, our province has brought more than 93 percent of the nomads that have been settled into cooperatives. However, the management of cooperatives is, generally speaking, still weak and ineffective, distribution is still based on averages at many places, the ethnic minorities at some places have returned to nomadism and slash and burn cultivation and so forth. This situation faces our party organization with the task of further intensifying its effort to solidify and strengthen the collective economic organizations by successfully bringing about the settlement of nomads, improving farming methods and production techniques, improving production implements, managing production in accordance with a plan and implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor.

In conjunction with expanding the cooperativization movement in order to bring the ethnic minorities into cooperatives, our party organization has decided to boldly assign members of the ethnic minorities jobs as workers at state farms, state forestry sites and state-operated enterprises at places where the necessary conditions exist. This is a good practice, is the quickest way to bring about a leap forward among the ethnic minorities and is a practice that has been applied by the Ea Sup Federation of Enterprises in forestry and industry and a number of other economic units.

On the basis of coordinating agriculture and forestry, settling nomads, assigning land and forests to each household on which to establish a garden and build a private home, building water conservancy projects and raising wet

rice in order to resolve the grain problem, the federations of enterprises have attracted thousands of families to forestry sites and state farms, are making effective use of the experienced, local labor of the ethnic minorities in the planting of rubber trees, coffee trees and forest trees, in conservation and so forth. This work is not only of tremendous economic significance, it is of political significance as well. It trains a corps of workers among the ethnic minorities, raises the level of awareness, deepens their knowledge of science and technology and strengthens their confidence in the party, in the new system. This reality has opened new capabilities for our province with regard to settling the 230,000 members of the ethnic minorities that are still nomads. This is an important and pressing task because only by achieving the settlement of nomads can we establish the conditions needed to change farming practices, improve farming techniques and establish the new production relations.

The development of production forces and the establishment of the new production relations must be closely associated with raising the level of socialist awareness and the cultural level of the ethnic minorities. As General Secretary Le Duan said: "Together with the economic revolution, we must promote the ideological and cultural revolution, considering it to be a strong moving force, an extremely important means in advancing Dac Lac to socialism."(1)

In this spirit, our party organization has constantly attached importance to teaching revolutionary traditions, teaching patriotism and the love of socialism among the ethnic minorities. Cultural work and education have been continuously developed: during the 1982-1983 school year, the province had 3,800 general school classes with an enrollment of 128,000 students for an average of one of every four persons attending school. Supplementary education and the movement to wipe out illiteracy have been promoted; the province now has 33,000 persons studying on the job or attending supplementary education classes at night. The vocational middle schools and colleges of the central level located within the province and the province's own vocational schools annually train and supply to the province thousands of cadres. We have developed many appropriate measures and forms of activity for teaching socialist ideology, raising the cultural and technical level of the ethnic minorities, refuting the counter-propaganda of the enemy, especially the FULRO reactionaries, and overcoming superstitions; at the same time, we have respected, preserved and enhanced the fine cultural traditions of the ethnic minorities. The ideological and cultural revolution among the ethnic minorities in our province has had a positive impact upon the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution.

However, in the teaching of politics and ideology, in the effort to raise the cultural level and establish the new lifestyle and culture among the ethnic minorities within our province, we are still encountering many complex difficulties, difficulties which demand constant and positive efforts in order to abolish the remnants of the thinking, lifestyle and backward habits left behind by the old system, raise the level of socialist awareness and steadily advance the ethnic minorities toward socialism.

To perform the tasks mentioned above, it is important that we build a corps of cadres from the provincial to the basic levels who possess the necessary qualities and skills. We must begin with the cadres in installations, mountain villages, cooperatives, enterprises, state farms, forestry sites and districts because these are the places that directly and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the places at which the sharp struggle between socialism and capitalism is carried out each hour of each day. These are also the places that directly organize the successful implementation of the line and positions of the party and state. We must make an effort to train cadres by many different methods, such as expanding the system of work-study schools and the short-term and long-term on-the-job and formal schools and provide training in subject matter that is both consistent and thorough, thereby meeting both the immediate and long-range requirements of socio-economic development within the province.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duan: "Building a Strong and Solid Local Economy," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, p 103.

7809  
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## AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVIZATION IN NGHIA BINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 53-59, 83

[Article by To Dinh Co, chairman of the Nghia Binh Provincial People's Committee]

### [Text] I. Carried Out in a Rapid and Wholesome Manner

Nghia Binh is a coastal province in central Vietnam. The province's cropland per capita average is low and there is much publicly owned cropland. The province's landowners and wealthy peasants are not very powerful. The number of peasants that use machines is still small. Agricultural production is primarily subsistent in nature. Following the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, two-thirds of the province's villages had been heavily damaged by the enemy; many villages had been totally destroyed, the population had been uprooted and experienced very serious upheavals, many fields were lying fallow, a critical number of draft buffalo and cattle had been stolen or killed and so forth.

Following the total liberation of the South, Nghia Binh urgently and thoroughly implemented the agrarian policy of the party and government in order to abolish exploitation through cropland in the countryside and provide land to those who till the soil.

The abolition of exploitation through cropland in the countryside was carried out by confiscating the cropland of landowners who owed blood debts to farmers and the cropland of compradore bourgeoisie and hoodlums within the former puppet army and government and by mobilizing ordinary landowners, wealthy farmers and even upper middle class farmers who had little land on which land rents were being collected or who had to hire labor because they were unable to farm all their land by themselves to share their land with farmers who lacked or had no cropland. At places where the cropland confiscated from exploiters was insufficient to distribute among farmers, farmers were encouraged to redistribute land among themselves in the spirit of "the whole leaf covering the torn leaf."

The work of providing cropland to farmers in accordance with the policy of the party and state was systematically and thoroughly completed in Nghia Binh in 1976. Following the redistribution of cropland, the amount of land held by

farm families in Nghia Binh was equal or roughly equal, with the largest amount of cropland held not exceeding the per capita average by more than 125 square meters.

Thus, Nghia Binh had abolished feudal exploitation and capitalist exploitation in the countryside, provided land to the tillers of the soil and even reduced the differences in the amount of cropland owned by farmers, thereby opening the way for the agricultural cooperativization movement to develop smoothly and reach an increasingly high level of development.

Together with resolving the cropland problem well, thus assuring that each farmer had land, Nghia Binh, developing upon the experience gained in working collectively during the war of resistance, mobilized farmers to earn their livings collectively under many different forms of organization. Farmers throughout the province responded and actively participated in the various forms of collective production because they realized that a single person or single family working alone would encounter very many difficulties in trying to clear land, restore fields to production, build water conservancy projects and so forth and find it even more difficult to organize their life, rebuild their home and rebuild their villages that had been seriously damaged in the war. Earning a living collectively quickly became a pressing need of the mass of farmers. The movement to earn a living collectively in various forms of work exchange teams (in the lowlands) and labor cooperation teams and units (in the mountains) developed widely within the province. These collective organizations, although they assumed many different forms and names, actually consisted of only two types. The first type, the work exchange team, was organized on the basis of collective labor but the instruments of production were still owned by individuals. Among the work exchange teams (also called work rotation and exchange teams or production solidarity teams) were a type that only involved the exchange of work under several work contract quotas and a type that exchanged work (on privately held land) and cooperated in labor (collective production and distribution on land distributed to the collective or acquired by farmers together by clearing land and restoring fields to production). The second type, the production collective or labor cooperation team and unit, was organized on the basis of collective labor with an important portion or all of the instruments of production being collectivized. Among them were a form of production collective that collectivized cropland, buffalo, cattle and machinery or only collectivized cropland, leaving buffalo, cattle and machinery under private ownership but using them in collective labor and distributing them in accordance with labor and another form that only collectivized public cropland, employing the work exchange form of organization on privately held land.

Under these forms of organization, the movement to earn a living collectively played a large role in the disarming of bombs and mines, the filling in of bomb craters, the clearing of land, the restoration of fields to production, the construction of water conservancy projects, the restoration of production and the stabilization of life during the first years following liberation. It also had a practical side, namely, providing training for the advance to agricultural production cooperatives.

However, the work exchange and production collective movement manifested its inherent contradictions from the very outset. All of the contradictions within the work exchange teams (such as the contradiction between the income of persons who owned many instruments of production and those who owned few, the contradiction in terms of unfair distribution between persons who had much, skilled labor and persons who had only a small amount of unskilled labor, the lack of the conditions needed to equip material-technical bases, expand production and business and raise labor productivity and so forth) originated in the fact that labor was collective in nature but the instruments of production were still under private ownership. As regards the production collectives, although they were socialist in nature, they were still at the level of development of simple cooperation; therefore, they were unable to fully implement the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and their small size made it impossible for them to invest capital, impossible to establish the conditions needed to expand the business of the trade sector and equip with material-technical bases, impossible to implement the new division of labor based on specialization and cooperation and made it difficult for them to coordinate agriculture with industry, production with processing and so forth. Therefore, they were unable to achieve high labor productivity and earn much income for their members.

Recognizing this situation at an early date, that is, as soon as the work exchange and production collective movement began developing widely in the countryside, Nghia Binh conducted a pilot project in early 1976 in the establishment of an agricultural production cooperative in order to gain experience. The provincial level itself established one pilot project collective in Phuoc Thang Village in Tuy Phuoc District. In the fall of 1976, the province conducted a preliminary review to gain experience and, in early 1977, it established cooperatives in a number of districts representing the different production areas within the province on a pilot project basis in order to establish model cooperatives for the different areas and gain experience in leading provincial, district and village cadres. At the same time, Nghia Binh urgently trained scores of cooperative cadres. The province provided 3 to 4 months of training to management cadres of the cooperatives. The districts provided 10 days to 1 month of training to production collective and production unit cadres. By the end of 1978, Nghia Binh had trained 30,191 cadres of various types for the cooperativization movement in the countryside.

In conjunction with preparing cadres and providing provincial, district, village and hamlet cadres with experience in leading the establishment of cooperatives, Nghia Binh conducted production planning and zoned production areas within the province at an early date, thereby laying the foundation for the districts to carry out their overall (initial) planning so that when cooperatives were established they could accept and formulate production guidelines coordinated with the planning and production zoning of the province and district. It was only after all of this had been accomplished that Nghia Binh began to expand the establishment of agricultural production cooperatives, which it did in stages coordinated with the production seasons, thereby creating an intense and widespread cooperativization movement in the countryside. As a result, by the fall of 1980 (following 3 years of cooperativization), Nghia Binh had completed its agricultural cooperativization through two forms of organization encompassing 423 high

level cooperatives and 415 production collectives, which brought 97 percent of farm families and 98 percent of farmland into collective production.

With the completion of cooperativization, socialist production relations based on the collective ownership of the instruments of production and the collective labor of farmers were truly established and the class of collective farmers was born in the rural areas of Nghia Binh. This represented a revolutionary change of important and profound significance in that it not only abolished the sources of exploitation in the countryside, but also laid the economic and social foundation for achieving a political and moral consensus among the people and created the conditions for upholding the right of collective ownership of working farmers.

## II. The Reasons for the Movement's Success

The agricultural cooperativization movement in Nghia Binh has developed rapidly and, for the most part, well as a result of favorable objective circumstances; however, its development has primarily been due to the efforts made by the local party organizations, which seized the favorable opportunity that arose following liberation day to carry out the thorough redistribution of cropland while immediately preparing for and carrying out agricultural cooperativization on an increasingly high level and in a concerted, continuous and thorough manner.

The provincial party committee, the district party committees and the organizations of the party on the basic level as well as the sectors and mass organizations within the province had a thorough understanding of and were highly determined to implement the Party Central Committee's policy concerning agricultural cooperativization in the southern provinces. The party organization congress and the various party committee echelons from the provincial to the district levels adopted resolutions concerning agricultural cooperativization, established it as the task of central importance and established specific targets and measures for thoroughly carrying out agricultural cooperativization during each period of time. The majority of the secretaries of the party organizations from the provincial to the district and village levels personally kept abreast of and guided the cooperativization movement within their locality. The cadres and party members of all levels and sectors within the province agreed with and supported agricultural cooperativization. Practically all party members in the countryside set a good example by taking the lead in the movement to establish cooperatives in their native villages. The high degree of consensus and the determination to carry out agricultural cooperativization that existed within the party attracted the active participation of the mass of farmers. This was the most important factor determining the success of the agricultural cooperativization movement in Nghia Binh. There was also a couple of places at which the agricultural cooperativization movement was carried out slowly, the underlying reason for which was the fact that the party committee, cadres and party members at these places were not in agreement with nor highly determined to implement the party's agricultural cooperativization policy.

Nghia Binh made an extensive research effort to gain a thorough understanding of and creatively apply the guidelines and policy of the central level

concerning agricultural cooperativization under the specific circumstances and conditions of the locality.

In keeping with the guideline of proceeding from a low to a high level of development, from small scale to large scale, Nghia Binh provided the masses and cadres with relatively good practical training by means of many different forms of organizations which encompassed a wide variety of elements consistent with the specific characteristics and requirements of each place but which were all designed to prepare for the advance to cooperatives. All cooperatives have been established on the basis of practical training organizations in the form of work exchange teams and production solidarity teams which developed into production collectives and then into cooperatives or in the form of work exchange teams and production solidarity teams that evolved directly into agricultural production cooperatives.

The evolution of production collectives into cooperatives is similar in some respects to the merging of small cooperatives to form larger cooperatives. In this evolution of production collectives and this merging of small cooperatives, Nghia Binh has appropriately resolved a rather widespread problem, the economic differences among collectives. Without adopting the correct policies and properly molding thinking, property of the collective would be decentralized (by distributing accumulated funds, selling off buffalo and cattle, slaughtering hogs, removing fish from ponds, harvesting crops before they reached maturity and so forth) before it could evolve into a cooperative, thus causing the new cooperative to encounter very many difficulties with property and liquid capital, causing a lack of internal unity and so forth.

Establishing the initial size of cooperatives is one of the important requirements in applying the agricultural cooperativization guidelines of the central level. After the pilot project in the establishment of agricultural production cooperatives had been underway for awhile, Nghia Binh reached the conclusion: if cadres are properly prepared, cooperatives can be organized on the scale of 300 to 350 hectares apiece. With this size, cooperatives are able to organize production and establish a division of labor that yields higher economic returns than smaller cooperatives. At the same time, this scale does not exceed the management capabilities of the existing corps of cadres once they have received a certain amount of professional training. The present realities of the cooperativization movement in Nghia Binh confirm that this conclusion was a proper one.

Nghia Binh has guided its cooperatives in complying with the principles of cooperativization set forth by the central level and has, on the other hand, flexibly applied a number of policies in a manner consistent with the local situation. For example, in the payments made for cropland, the majority of the cooperatives only made payments that were based on averages (which did not include payments for the purposes of supporting the families of war dead and disabled veterans, families who performed a service for the revolution, households that are short of help, the elderly, the disabled and orphans and widows who have no means of support). The prices paid for buffalo, cattle, implements and other instruments of production brought into the collective were set through negotiations at no more than 15 percent lower than market

prices, as a result of which we were able to avoid the problem of selling off buffalo, cattle and machinery in advance of agricultural cooperativization. As soon as it was established, each cooperative was supplied by the province with a number of materials (cement, lumber, coal, baked bricks and so forth) for use in the construction of such initial bases as granaries, drying yards, tanks for soaking seed and other production support projects. This policy is consistent with the principles of cooperativization set forth by Lenin: "A social system only comes into existence if a given class provides it with financial assistance"(1) and "such is the support that our socialist state gives to the new principle of organizing the population."(2)

One moving force in the rapid and successful development of the cooperativization movement in Nghia Binh has been the extensive practical experience gained by the provincial and district levels through the pilot project in the establishment of cooperatives in leading, guiding and testing its decisions regarding the education of the masses, the application of policies, the organizing of production, the organizing of management, the defining of the size of cooperatives and so forth. This work has been performed by the cadres, party members and masses of the locality themselves under the guidance and direction of the province and district; the province and its districts did not take over this work or "pour money and material" into cooperatives nor did they create the thinking among the cadres and masses on the basic level of relying upon the upper level.

As is the case with every other revolutionary movement, the speed and quality with which the agricultural cooperativization movement develops is determined by cadres. The cadre requirements involved in expanding the agricultural cooperativization movement are very large and many different types of cadres are needed, most importantly management cadres. As soon as cooperatives were established, Nghia Binh met their cadre needs by providing them with cadres from many different sources: a number of cadres who had settled here from the North were selected for their knowledge of building cooperatives and assigned to installations; the central level and the provinces of the North were asked to provide assistance by sending cadres to the province; and outstanding persons who emerged within the revolutionary movement of the masses were sent for elementary training, practical training and advanced training and sent to study actual experiences firsthand (including the experiences of advanced cooperatives in the North). Although the number of cadres sent by the upper level to assist the basic level has been small, these cadres have much knowledge and experience in the establishment of cooperatives in the North; these cadres, in coordination with the large number of local cadres, created an initial corps of cadres capable of developing and managing the newly established cooperatives. Of course, in order to manage the development of cooperatives toward large-scale socialist production, many more skilled management cadres must be trained and we must further improve the qualifications of the cadres now serving within the cooperatives.

Deserving of attention is that our province and its districts and cooperatives have attached very much importance to learning, in many different ways, about the cooperativization movement in the North in order to selectively apply its good experiences, avoid mistakes and avoid having to go around in circles.

### III. The Vitality of the Cooperativized Countryside

Cooperativization in Nghia Binh began in 1978 and concluded in 1980. Since then, it has begun to have an impact and the superiority of cooperativized agriculture has become increasingly evident.

The emergence of cooperativized agriculture has stimulated the formation of specialized, centralized production areas within each cooperative, within the districts and within the province, on the basis of which we have established ties with neighboring provinces and established large-scale specialized farming areas. The key rice growing area of the province (including the amount of area under the cultivation of high yield rice) measures 30,000 hectares; the rice plus subsidiary food crop area measures 48,000 hectares; the industrial crop plus subsidiary food crop area measures 46,000 hectares; and the area in which agriculture and forestry are coordinated (which does not include forests or forest land) measures 17,000 hectares. The northern districts of the province have a centralized sugarcane area that measures 5,000 hectares and supplies sugarcane to the central sugar mill in Quang Ngai City; the southern portion of the province has a centralized sugarcane area measuring 3,000 hectares that supplies sugarcane to the sugar mill of the province. The three northern districts of the province, which raise vegetables and fruit for exportation, have established economic ties with Quang Nam-Da Nang Province and export vegetables and fruit to the Soviet Union through the port of Da Nang; the southern districts of the province produce vegetables and fruit for exportation through the port of Quy Nhon. The centralized cinnamon growing area in Tra Bong and the Tra Mi cinnamon production area of Quang Nam-Da Nang Province have established an inter-provincial cinnamon production region. Coconut trees have been and are continuing to be planted from Duc Pho southward into the five districts that lie along Route 1A, thus combining with the coconut growing area of Phu Khanh Province to create a joint, centralized coconut production belt that provides the conditions needed to establish a coconut production and processing industrial-agricultural federation.

Agricultural cooperativization has stimulated the redistribution of labor in the countryside: within each cooperative, specialized labor teams and units have been established, such as teams and units that specialize in crop production, collective livestock production, machinery, seed production, water conservancy, transportation, the preparation of fields, crop protection and so forth. Within the province and its districts, the redistribution of labor has taken two different directions: first, sending labor into the hills and mountains or to the seacoast to establish level II installations. Two years after the completion of cooperativization, some 6,600 families have been sent to establish level II installations and have cleared 26,000 hectares of land. Secondly, sending labor outside the province: 19,228 families have been sent to build new economic zones.

With some assistance from the state and by practicing self-reliance, the cooperatives have built a system of material-technical bases supporting production within cooperatives and within the district as a whole. Although the number of large and medium size water conservancy projects is still small, small-scale projects constructed by the people have developed everywhere,

projects which include scores of waterwheels located along either bank of the four major rivers that flow through the province and numerous dams that enable water to be pumped and bailed into fields. Seed processing facilities have been organized within cooperatives in the form of specialized seed production units; within the districts, seed production areas as well as seedling and livestock breeding stations have been established. A network of veterinary teams, units and stations has been organized within cooperatives and within the districts. Each cooperative has a machine unit; on the district level, there is a machine enterprise tasked with producing agricultural implements and repairing agricultural machines. The material-technical bases of each cooperative are closely linked to the clusters of economic-technical bases managed by the district. Today, the average agricultural cooperative in Nghia Binh has 1,117,000 dong in fixed assets and each hectare of farmland is equipped with 3,354 dong in material bases.

On the basis of reorganizing production in centralized and specialized farming areas, efficiently distributing and utilizing labor and establishing networks of material-technical bases at installations and on the district level as described above, Nghia Binh's cooperativized agriculture has developed well over the past several years in the areas of producing grain and supplying raw materials to industry and agricultural products for exportation.

Although it is still heavily dependent upon nature (serious drought, major flooding and widespread pests), Nghia Binh's agriculture has, as a result of collective labor, managed to produce more grain with each passing year. When production was still private (1976), the province's grain output, in paddy equivalent, was only 426,000 tons. During the first year following the completion of agricultural cooperativization (1981), the province produced 520,000 tons. In 1983, output rose to 540,000 tons. Once a province that lacked food, a province that had to rely upon the central level for help, Nghia Binh has met its own needs for grain ever since its cooperativized agriculture was established. Not one district is experiencing the hunger that once existed and some places have begun to build small grain reserves. The amount of grain mobilized within the province as well as the amount of grain contributed to the central level have increased with each passing year.

	Unit of Calculation	1980	1981	1982
Grain mobilized	tons	49,000	75,400	80,000
Index	%	100	153.2	163.3
Grain sent to central level	tons	3,000	18,500	33,622
Index	%	100	610	1,140

In the 2 years since agricultural cooperativization, the production of industrial crops and export crops has developed. In 1982, we planted 10,490 hectares of sugarcane and harvested 400,000 tons of sugarcane (a 60 percent increase over 1980). Soybean output has reached nearly 1,000 tons (a 208 percent increase compared to 1980). Some 700 hectares of mulberries have already been planted and a total of 2,000 hectares will be planted. We have planted 1,000 hectares of tobacco, which will be increased to 2,000 hectares. Some 4,000 hectares of peanuts have been planted. The province has planted 40

million cinnamon trees and annually harvests more than 400 tons of bark. We have planted 1.5 million coconut trees and will plant a total of 5 million. Cashew production is developing strongly at all cooperatives that have barren hills and coastal sand dunes.

The production of industrial and export crops has been increasing each year and will continue to increase, thereby providing a full supply of raw materials to existing enterprises and those that will be built in the future (by both the central level and the local level within Nghia Binh) and providing products for exportation. At the same time, on the basis of these sources of agricultural products, many agricultural product processing enterprises and cooperatives have emerged and will emerge in the future, thereby opening the way for economic development that closely links agriculture to the processing industry on the basic level, within the scope of individual districts and through economic ties among many districts.

The growing vitality of Nghia Binh's cooperativized countryside is not only seen in the successful development of the agricultural economy within the province, but also in the field of building the new culture, the new society and the new countryside. The rate of capital construction in the rural areas of Nghia Binh during the past 2 years of cooperativization has been quite high. Every cooperative has a capital construction unit and the majority of cooperatives have organized the production of bricks and tiles. As a result, 50 percent of the houses of the people in the countryside have been constructed using attractive bricks and tiles and 80 to 90 percent of schools, hospitals, medical aid stations, child care centers, kindergartens and other welfare facilities have been constructed of bricks and tiles. One of every three citizens is attending the schools constructed in the locality. There are 25 hospital beds for every 10,000 persons. The rural wired radio and information network has developed rapidly. Fifty percent of cooperatives have wired radio networks and production units with loudspeakers and a number of villages have installed loudspeakers within each household. Many cooperatives have amateur literary and art units that have received professional training and instruction. Many cooperatives have libraries, book cabinets, cultural halls and so forth. The wired radio, information, cultural and literary-art activities within the cooperatives have had the effect of discouraging backward customs and developing the new style of life within hamlets. The labor forces of the cooperatives have been reorganized in a manner closely linked to the maintenance of production security and the maintenance of order and security within the hamlets, thus allowing the people to engage in production with peace of mind.

In summary, the cooperativization movement in Nghia Binh has opened many fine prospects and achieved considerable results.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Vietnamese version, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 423.
2. Ibid., p 425.

## ABOLISHING EXPLOITATION THROUGH CROPLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 60-62, 67

[Article by Huu Hanh]

### [Text] I. A Lesson in Abolishing Exploitation Through Cropland

An Hoa Village in Trang Bang District, Tay Ninh Province, was a village that was totally occupied throughout the two wars of resistance against France and the United States. However, in the resistance against France, the revolutionary government struggled in 1947 and 1948 to confiscate cropland from traitorous Vietnamese landowners and puppet officials who owed blood debts to the people and distributed, on a temporary basis, about 600 hectares of publicly owned and village owned cropland to poor peasants who had no land. However, during the resistance against the United States for national salvation, the Diem-Thieu puppet regime took back all of the cropland that had been distributed to farmers by the revolutionary government. In An Hoa, the majority of this cropland fell into the hands of landowners and wealthy farmers. Poor farmers who lacked land lost more and more of their land and were forced to work for hire and endure harsh exploitation by landowners and wealthy peasants.

Following the total liberation of the South, only the problem posed by the cropland of former Vietnamese traitors, public cropland and village-owned cropland was resolved in An Hoa. The cadres and party members of An Hoa (as well as many cadres and party members on the provincial and district level) were of the opinion that the problem of cropland and exploitation through cropland in the countryside had been virtually resolved!

But such was not the case. The differences in the amount of cropland owned by farmers and the accompanying exploitation through cropland were exactly the same in An Hoa as they were before liberation day.

The average amount of cropland per capita in An Hoa Village is 1,300 square meters (which makes it one of the villages with the lowest average in Trang Bang District). However, the amount of cropland owned by the various families within the hamlets of the village varied quite widely: the average amount of cropland per capita among the 26 households that had much cropland being used for commercial purposes through the collection of land rents and the hiring of

labor was 20,000 square meters. The per capita average among the 68 families of upper middle class farmers was slightly more than 4,400 square meters. And, the per capita average among those farm households that lacked cropland was only 120 square meters. The number of households within the village that did not have cropland was 260 (including 57 families of wounded veterans and war dead and 32 families of cadres and soldiers).

Due to these differences in the amount of cropland owned in the countryside, the movement to establish production solidarity teams and production collectives was at a standstill in An Hoa for the first 6 to 7 years following liberation day. The full-scale development of hamlets and the village could not be carried out. On the other hand, various forms of exploitation through cropland and other kinds of feudal exploitation continued unabated in all hamlets. The enemies of the revolution took advantage of this opportunity to buy and corrupt key cadres (three party chapter secretaries who fell into the enemy's trap and became corrupt were removed from office) or intimidate cadres through threats and the use of violent force (there were three incidents in which village and hamlet cadres were injured by grenades or shot).

It was not until 1981 that the cadres and party members in An Hoa Village fully recognized the harm that had been caused by their failure over a period of many years to gain a clear understanding of the struggle to abolish exploitation through cropland and the sources of exploitation in the countryside.

## II. Taking Determined Steps To Redistribute Cropland in the Countryside

The sources of exploitation in the countryside must be tracked down before correct steps can be taken to effectively redistribute cropland among farmers. In early 1981, on the basis of viewing the matter from this perspective, An Hoa Village established a village committee to investigate the ownership of cropland and redistribute cropland and had everyone study the directives and resolutions of the party, the state and the province concerning the cropland investigation and the redistribution of cropland in the countryside in order to understand and implement them well.

Once this study was completed, the owners of cropland and other instruments of agriculture declared how much they owned, beginning first within the chapters of the party and then in the committees, sectors and mass organizations of the village and hamlets. First, each party member drew up a list of his or her family's cropland (which included cropland farmed by the family itself, leased farmland, the land of landowners and wealthy farmers being farmed by tenants, land being farmed that belonged to someone else, public cropland, illegally appropriated cropland and so forth) and other instruments of production, which was presented to the party chapter for analysis and revision. Similar lists were drawn up by the cadres of the committees, sectors and mass organizations of the hamlets and village. These lists declaring the cropland holdings and the other instruments of production of the party members and cadres of the committees, sectors and mass organizations of the village and hamlets were first presented to the village people's council for examination and then presented to all the people so that they could discuss and contribute their opinions concerning them and make addition to them, thereby clarifying the

specific situation surrounding the ownership and use of cropland and production tools by each party member and cadre within the village and its hamlets.

Because cadres and party members set a good example by submitting their lists first, when it came time for the mass of farmers to declare their cropland holdings and other instruments of production, they fully understood and supported the effort, contributing many opinions concerning the specific situation that facilitated the investigation and the redistribution of cropland.

The masses launched a struggle and accurately determined how much cropland was privately owned, how much land being farmed belonged to someone else, how many scattered fields were being used to collect land rents, how much land had been illegally sold and how much land had been concealed and not declared by landowners. As a result, landowners were forced to correctly declare how much land they held and were asked to contribute the cropland being used in exploitation to farmers, leaving them with enough land for their families to maintain, through their own efforts, the same standard of living as the other working farm households within the village.

Only when we had systematically completed the investigation and redistribution of the cropland of landowners did we shift our efforts to the other farm families that owned much more cropland than they needed. Realizing that the movement of the masses to participate in the investigation of cropland ownership and the redistribution of cropland had developed into a strong movement, the families of wealthy farmers and upper middle class farmers who owned fields being worked by hired labor realized that they could not conceal this ownership and voluntarily declared the full amount of cropland owned by them (even cropland that had been sold illegally). They were asked to contribute that portion of their land which their families could not farm by themselves and for which they had to hire labor so that it could be distributed to farm families that had no land or lacked cropland.

The struggle to investigate the ownership of cropland and redistribute cropland in An Hoa Village was carried out not by compulsory administrative methods or a bitter fight, but through persuasion that conformed with both reason and sentiment but was very resolute and thorough, as a result of which more than 759 hectares of land were reclaimed and distributed to 741 farm households that had no land or lacked cropland. In addition, during this phase of investigating the ownership of cropland and redistributing cropland, the masses reclaimed 1,920 kilograms of paddy in land rent and 33,400 dong resulting from the illegal sale of cropland.

Each farmer in An Hoa that once had no land or lacked cropland has now been distributed enough land on which to carry out production. Families that once operated agricultural businesses and practiced exploitation through cropland have now become genuine agricultural laborers who earn their living through their own efforts. Exploitation through cropland in the countryside has now truly been abolished. This has created the first important premise, created the conditions for gradually bringing the farmers of An Hoa into increasingly

high forms of collective production, for building the new countryside, establishing the new culture and molding the new, socialist man.

### III. Not Stopping at Private Production

An Hoa adopted the policy that the farmers of every village in which the investigation and the redistribution of cropland had been completed be immediately organized in collective production, instead of simply stopping at private production. Because, all of the families to whom cropland was distributed are poor farmers who lack production implements, do not have adequate seed or seedlings and, in particular, do not have the capital needed to invest in production and intensive cultivation in order to raise crop yields. If they continued to earn their living privately, even within production solidarity teams (where their income is dependent upon how much cropland and machinery they own, how many implements and draft buffalo or cattle they own and how much liquid capital they have for production), they would encounter many difficulties in their production and their daily lives. Several months after the completion of the investigation of cropland ownership, seeing that a number of poor farmers were encountering difficulties in production and their daily lives, two families that were once wealthy farm families managed, through loans and trade, to take back 11 hectares of cropland that had been distributed to farmers. Taking advantage of the failure to organize collective production at the very outset, several middle farmers who had surplus cropland that was to be redistributed repeatedly refused to turn over this land (one case involved 2 hectares and another involved 9.5 hectares under the cultivation of sugarcane).

While the investigation into cropland ownership was still underway, An Hoa requested and received from the district help in training local cadres to support the movement to establish production collectives upon the completion of the cropland investigation. Today, An Hoa has 359 production collective cadres who were trained at schools of the central level, the province, the district or the village in preparation for establishing production collectives within the village.

The An Hoa Village party chapter selected An Thoi Hamlet as the site of a pilot project and An Phu Hamlet as the site of a full-scale project (under the direct guidance of cadres of the district and village), with the five other hamlets establishing production collectives under the guidance of their hamlet cadres and in accordance with the plan set forth by the village.

The effort to study and learn the objectives, requirements, principles and specifics involved in the establishment of production collectives was organized first among the cadres of the committees and sectors of the village and hamlets. Then, village and hamlet cadres as well as the district cadres who had arrived to provide assistance divided into groups and went to the various production solidarity teams to encourage the masses to study and learn about the establishment of production collectives. The masses were divided into groups based on the areas for which production collectives were planned so that they could study together.

Clearly understanding and endorsing the policy, the masses voluntarily submitted applications to join production collectives. The movement of the masses to join production collectives was not only intense within the pilot project hamlet and the hamlet in which a full-scale project was carried out but also developed widely in the five other hamlets of An Hoa Village. As of 30 June 1983, including the several production collectives that had been established previously and are still in operation and were strengthened and developed during the campaign to redistribute cropland and the newly established production collectives, An Village had 46 production collectives, which have been joined by 2,206 of the 2,319 farm families within the village and encompass 1,355 hectares of cropland (almost all of the cropland used in production within the village). There is still a small number of farm families who have been unable to organize production collectives and are working in production solidarity teams.

The production of the production collectives has developed rather well: average rice yield is 30 quintals per hectare, an increase of 12 quintals per hectare compared to the time when farmers were working in production solidarity teams. The rice yield of An Hoa Village as a whole, which averaged only 15 quintals per hectare during the years of private production, has now risen to 21 quintals per hectare. Some production collectives in An Quoi Hamlet pooled capital to build brick and tile granaries and drying yards and pooled their labor to dig water conservancy ditches, thus providing them with the material conditions needed to evolve into a cooperative. The An Quoi Cooperative is the first agricultural production cooperative to be established in An Hoa. One production solidarity team after another has been evolving into a production collective. Thus, in 1983, An Hoa Village will surely complete its agricultural cooperativization in its two main forms: production collectives and an agricultural production cooperative. Today, the sources of exploitation through cropland in the An Hoa countryside have truly been abolished.

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## THE VICTORIES IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION FOR THE FRATERNAL PEOPLE OF LAOS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 63-67

[Article by Thanh Son]

[Text] The country of Laos has a total population of 3.5 million, approximately 1.3 million of whom are agricultural laborers. It has about 3.5 to 4 million hectares of farmland, which include roughly 1.5 to 2 million hectares under the cultivation of rice, subsidiary food crops and industrial crops; the remainder of its cropland lies in grasslands, ponds and lakes. Along the Mekong River are large lowland areas, which are considered the major rice growing areas of Laos. These lowland areas are: the Vientiane lowlands (400,000 hectares), the Savannakhet lowlands (900,000 hectares), the Champassak lowlands (500,000 hectares), the Khammouane lowlands (360,000)... The country's highlands such as the Plaine des Jarres in Xiangkhoang, the Nakay in Khammouane, the Bolovens Plateau in southern Laos and so forth are broad plateaus of fertile soil well suited to the cultivation of industrial crops and to livestock production. The Bolovens Plateau, which measures about 1 million hectares and consists primarily of red basalt soil, is very well suited to the cultivation of coffee, tea and many types of fruit. Generally speaking, the climate and weather are also very well suited to crop and livestock production.

However, under the feudal system and the yoke of oppression and exploitation of the colonialists, the agriculture of Laos was kept in a state of extreme backwardness and total dependency upon nature. The arable land in use was not fertilized or improved and rapidly depleted as a result. The widespread destruction of forests throughout the country to make slash and burn fields, especially in northern Laos, caused hundreds of thousands of hectares of forests to become barren hills each year, thus seriously affecting the environment, especially the sources of water needed to develop agriculture. The lackey government of the U.S. imperialists did virtually nothing to develop agriculture. The region under the control of the U.S. imperialists and the Vientiane lackey government encompassed virtually all of the vast lowlands of the country; although the country's population was only about 2 million, it annually had to import anywhere from 80,000 to 100,000 tons of rice. Average rice yield was only about 1.3-1.4 tons per hectare. Famine

frequently occurred in the highlands between seasons and became very serious during years of natural disasters.

After the country was liberated, the party and state of Laos attached very much importance to transforming and developing agriculture. On the basis of its country's characteristics, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party established the line on building and developing the economy of Laos in the new stage of the revolution as: "...Developing each potential of the country as highly as possible, moving forward on the basis of agriculture and forestry and using the development of agriculture and forestry as the basis for developing industry, transforming the natural economy, gradually advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and carrying out industrialization in a gradual and selective manner..."(1) As regards agricultural development, the party has asserted: "In the immediate future, we must endeavor to develop agriculture in a comprehensive manner and develop upon the strengths that agriculture and forestry have in grain crops, industrial crops, livestock production and the forestry industry but must focus our efforts on fully resolving the grain and food problem... Agriculture and industry must make an effort to meet the needs for food, clothing, export goods..."(2) With regard to the socialist transformation of agriculture, the policy of the party and state of Laos is: "Agitating among farmers to embark on the course of earning their livings collectively through agricultural cooperatives, turning private ownership into socialist, collective ownership and creating favorable conditions for the three revolutions in the countryside, thereby helping to transform the natural, subsistence economy, abolishing exploitation in the countryside and developing agriculture and forestry toward large-scale socialist production..."(3)

In May, 1978, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party issued a resolution on launching an agricultural cooperativization campaign based on three principles: voluntary association, mutual benefit and democratic management, with special attention to respecting the right of collective mastery of farmers, harmoniously combining the three interests, taking political and social attitudes into consideration, especially among the people of the ethnic minority areas, and not forcing them to accept any form of organization. The guidelines for the campaign are: providing positive leadership, moving gradually forward, progressing from small scale to large scale, from the easy to the difficult and so forth.

In keeping with the correct line described above and despite encountering many difficulties due to the need to move forward on the basis of a backward agriculture and due to the still serious aftereffects of the war and repeated natural disasters (the most serious of which occurred in 1977, when an unprecedented drought developed; in 1978, the worst flooding in 100 years occurred; in 1983, there were 3 straight months of drought at the start of the agricultural season), the people of Laos, a people who are diligent and possess a patriotic tradition, have, under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, met every challenge and won tremendous victories in agricultural production.

In the socialist transformation of agriculture, in addition to the difficulties mentioned above, the farmers of Laos have also had to wage a

decisive struggle against the very malicious schemes and acts of sabotage of all sorts of enemies, especially the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists. These enemies have employed many arguments and methods designed to distort and sabotage the cooperativization movement of Laos. They have proclaimed: China has material-technical bases and a level of development that are vastly superior to those of Laos in every respect yet, after more than 30 years of leading farmers down the path of collective production, China must now disband its people's communes. In view of this experience, what would the farmers of Laos stand to gain by joining cooperatives? On the other hand, to undermine the relations between Laos and Vietnam and the Soviet Union, they have said: Laos has a population of only a little more than 3 million but its people are hungry because Laos has taken the side of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. If it united and was friendly with China, it would never be hungry. The 1 billion people of China need only skip one meal in order for the people of Laos to have enough to eat for the entire year! They have also dispatched lackeys to barbarously assassinate a number of key cadres at cooperatives, threaten activists participating in the cooperativization movement, set fire to warehouses and sabotage many material-technical bases of cooperatives, etc.

However, overcoming every difficulty and meeting every challenge, the agricultural cooperativization movement, which is supported by the mass of Lao farmers, has continued to develop and gradually displayed the superior nature of collective production. At the start of 1978, the country had only 269 agricultural cooperatives. Today, 100 percent of the country's provinces, 80 percent of its districts and 64 percent of its villages have cooperatives, the total number of which has reached 2,144 (this does not include the thousands of production solidarity teams, a form of organization that provides practical training to farmers in collective production). The four provinces of Hua Phan, Phong Saly, Udomse and Xiangkhoang have virtually completed the establishment of agricultural cooperatives. In Champassak, the key rice growing province of Laos, which was only liberated in 1975, 40 percent of farm households have not joined cooperatives. Advanced model cooperatives are found in all provinces.(4)

The cooperatives have taken the lead in the movements to cultivate 5th month rice, build water conservancy projects, make fertilizer, practice intensive cultivation, clear land and restore fields to production and gradually apply advanced techniques in agricultural production. One-third of the cooperatives raise two rice crops per year and 85 percent of the fields on which intensive cultivation is practiced is managed by cooperatives. The yield on intensively cultivated fields is usually about 3 tons per hectare per season, with individual places recording yields of 4 tons per hectare per season. At a time when the nationwide average consumption of grain is about 300 kilograms of paddy per year, a number of cooperatives have achieved an average of 400 kilograms and a few places have recorded an average of 600 to 800 kilograms of paddy.

A number of cooperatives in the area which slash and burn crops are raised have gradually encouraged and helped cooperative members shift to the cultivation of rice paddies and upland fields, raise slash and burn crops on a rotation basis, cultivate terraced fields, raise industrial crops, harvest forestry and native products and limit the destruction of the forests for

slash and burn fields. Many places have restored and developed traditional handicraft trades in conjunction with developing the household economy of cooperative members.

Because production has developed and their income has risen, cooperative members eagerly fulfill their obligations to the state. Contributions by cooperative members are nearly twice as high as those made by private farmers; one cooperative contributed an average of 3.9 quintals of paddy per person in the fulfillment of its obligation.

The development of the cooperativization movement has stimulated the process of building the new countryside. At many places, marketing cooperatives, kindergartens, medical aid stations and schools have been established. In the countryside, there is also a movement to maintain disease prevention hygiene; supplementary education classes have been established and are promoting the effort to wipe out illiteracy. The maintenance of security is being intensified. Solidarity within the countryside and among the farmers of the ethnic minorities is being strengthened.

In conjunction with mobilizing farmers to join collective production, the state has invested in the construction of more than 30 state farms. Practically all of the state farms have been built in areas that have the conditions for them to develop into large-scale farms and coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation.

Although they have little capital and lack both equipment and materials, the party and state of Laos are still very concerned with building the material-technical bases of agriculture, considering this to be an important factor in stimulating the development of production forces and solidifying the new production relations within agriculture. In recent years, the Lao state has allocated more than 30 percent of its capital for capital construction to agriculture; this does not include the millions of mandays that have been mobilized for water conservancy work and the construction of agricultural support projects. Under the guideline "the state and the people working together," the water conservancy network in Laos has gradually been expanded. At present, three times more land is being irrigated than in 1976. Thousands of tractors and water pumps and hundreds of trucks and other types of machinery have been provided to support agricultural production, thus raising the total number of agricultural machines five times compared to 1976. Dozens of experimental, seed selection and seed production stations and farms, veterinary drug processing facilities, livestock feed processing plants, installations producing and repairing agricultural machines and so forth have been constructed. A network of elementary and middle level agricultural technical schools and classes has been organized in the capital and a number of provinces in order to provide elementary and advanced training to agricultural technical cadres. Since 1976, the number of middle level and high level scientific-technical cadres has doubled.

The amount of area under cultivation has been expanded. In 1982, nearly 800,000 hectares were under cultivation, a 40 percent increase compared to 1976. The cultivation of 5th month rice has become a mass movement in many localities. The area under the cultivation of 5th month rice increased 1.5

times between 1976 and 1983. The cultivation of all subsidiary food crops and industrial crops has been expanded, increasing 3.5 times between 1976 and 1982, with the amount of area under the cultivation of coffee increasingly 1.6 times; tobacco, 3 times; corn, 2.6 times; peanuts, 1.4 times and so forth.

The yields of all crops have risen: 10th month rice yields in 1981 and 1982 averaged 16-18 quintals per hectare per season (1976, the 10th month rice yield averaged only 14-15 quintals). Total paddy output was 693,000 tons in 1976; 1,061,000 tons in 1979; 1.1 million tons in 1980; 1,154,000 tons in 1981; and roughly the same in 1982 as in 1981. The average amount of paddy per capita was 203 kilograms in 1976, 320 kilograms in 1980 and 335 kilograms in 1981; meanwhile, the population has grown at an average rate of 2.4 percent per year. Since 1980, Laos has been virtually self-sufficient in grain.

The output of industrial and subsidiary food crops has also rapidly increased: between 1976 and 1982, coffee output increased by 75 percent, tobacco output nearly tripled, peanut output increased by 144 percent, soybean output increased by 100 percent, cotton output increased by 110 percent, etc.

The livestock herd suffered heavy losses during the war. Therefore, when peace was restored in 1975, there was a serious shortage of draft power. In Xiangkhoang, people had to pull plows. However, during the past several years, the livestock herd has been restored and developed. The buffalo herd has increased by 50 percent, the cattle herd by 100 percent, the hog herd by 130 percent and the poultry flock by 58 percent.

As a result of production developing and their incomes rising, the living conditions of farmers have been improved. Their confidence in the new system has been strengthened. Farmers actively fulfill their grain obligations to the state. The amount of paddy procured and collected in taxes in 1982 doubled compared to 1978.

In keeping with the line on building and developing the economy and culture of the country, on the basis of the achievements that have been recorded and in view of the characteristics of the agriculture of Laos, the first 5-year (1981-1985) socio-economic development plan of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos that was adopted at the 3rd Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party in April, 1982, asserts: accelerating agricultural production is the foremost economic task and special importance must be attached to the production of food and grain products with a view toward achieving self-sufficiency in grain and food products for society, raw materials for industry and goods for exportation. An effort must be made to produce an output of 1.6 million tons of grain, including 1.4 million tons of paddy, by 1985. From 1985 onward, the per capita output of paddy must reach 350 kilograms and the state must have a reserve of at least 6 months. In livestock production, an effort is being made to increase the rate of development of the livestock herds and poultry flock and increase the buffalo and cattle herd to 2 million head by the end of the 1980's. Laos has also adopted a plan for protecting and developing domestic elephant herds in those localities where the necessary conditions exist. In order to achieve these goals, the state will concentrate its investments in and focus its guidance on the country's six key rice growing provinces and 28 key rice growing

districts. By relying primarily upon intensive cultivation and intensifying the construction of water conservancy projects under the guideline "the state and the people working together," a plan will be put into effect to gradually restrict the clearing of forests to make slash and burn fields.

As regards the socialist transformation of agriculture, the congress set the following target: virtually completing the establishment of agricultural cooperatives in those areas where farming is carried out on established fields by the end of 1985. The state has adopted a plan for investing in the training of agricultural cadres and providing cooperatives with financial, material and technical assistance, thus enabling them to display the superior nature of collective production. In conjunction with developing and strengthening the collective economy, the party and state of Laos attach very much importance to and assist the development of the household economy of cooperative members.

Under the light of the resolution of the 3rd Congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the farmers of the Lao tribes are moving forward to record larger and even more solid victories in their transformation and development of agriculture, thereby contributing to socialist transformation and the success of socialist construction in Laos and making practical contributions to the cause of permanent, comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance among the peoples of the three fraternal countries of Indochina for the sake of building socialism and maintaining the independence and freedom of each country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The 3rd Congress of the Laos People's Revolutionary Party, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1983, p 35.
2. Ibid., p 44.
3. Ibid., p 45.
4. Foremost among them are the following cooperatives: Xieng Pha and Ban Hay in Phong Saly; Ban Thin and Beng Kham in Udomse; Hat Pang and Phu Mooc in Luang Prabang; Xom Xa Van and Xi Bun Huong in Sayaboury; Ban Nghiu and Na Kham in Hau Phan; Dong Pho Xi, Don Du, Tha Muong and Cau Lieu in Vientiane; Phon Xa Van and Khang Vieng in Xiangkhoang; the seven cooperatives in Xoong Muong Village in Khammouane Province; Nong Bua Tha and Na Hang Noi in Xavannakhet; Pa Ay and Na Thang Co in Sarayane; Up Pa Lat, Phu Oi, Ban Hay, Khi Ly, Hin Xiu and Khoc Xa Vang in Champassak, etc.

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THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, THE VANGUARD UNIT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 68-83

[Conclusion of article by To Quyen, Part 1 of which was published in TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 11, 1983]

[Text] III. The Kampuchean Peoples Revolutionary Party and the Uprising by the Kampuchean People That Crushed the Genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary Regime

The struggle waged by the people and the birth of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation:

In 1973, large numbers of cadres, party members and people within the base area in northeast Kampuchea arose in bitter opposition to the brutal policies that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique had implemented there. This opposition began with the local government, the armed forces and people of Vuon Say District in Rattanakiri Province disassociating themselves from the Pol Pot clique and establishing a separate revolutionary base in the area where the three borders of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos meet.(16) Later, this force became an important component of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation and made a tremendous contribution to the crushing of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot.

In 1974, the people of Ko Kong Province staged an armed uprising against the policy of terror of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.(17) This struggle lasted until the end of May, 1975, after which revolutionary forces temporarily withdrew to clandestine activities in the area along the border with Thailand; in mid-January, 1979, they advanced on Ko Kong Province and liberated it.

After the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique seized control of the entire territory of Kampuchea in April, 1975, their regime of brutal terror immediately enveloped the entire country. The people of every political leaning, every religion and every nationality became the victims of the bloodthirsty "Angkor" regime. Some people in the border areas fled to neighboring countries. A number of others concealed their personal backgrounds or fled into the forests in the hope of surviving. Within the dreadful concentration camps, anyone who did anything against the will of the commanders or gave any indication of not obeying their commander fully had their skulls smashed. The life of the

people in the servile labor units was a life of unprecedented suffering and misery.(18)

This bloody policy of rule caused widespread indignation among genuine cadres and party members. Behind the mask of "purifying our ranks," the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary dictators ruthlessly suppressed and eliminated all genuine revolutionaries. Large number of cadres and soldiers who served the country in the two ways of resistance were classified as "traitors" and forthrightly beheaded. As a result, between September, 1975 and the start of 1976, many struggles against the harsh rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique broke out at many places, such as Battambang, Siem Reap, Thbeng Meanchey, Kompong Thom, Kratie, Mondulkiri, Stung Treng, Ko Kong and so forth. At some places, the armed forces took the side of the forces resisting the regime. In early 1977, a large-scale uprising broke out in the northern provinces of Kampuchea, one that was coordinated with a component of the Phnom Penh security force and had the objective of toppling the dictatorial, nepotic regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary.

However, all of these uprisings met with defeat. The reactionary rulers in Phnom Penh ruthlessly suppressed all uprisings, burning alive those persons who were convicted of being the leaders of the rebels and executing large numbers of innocent people because they "dared" to ask for less strenuous work and ample food.(19)

Although the rulers evaluated these bloody campaigns of suppression as "great victories" and maintained that they had "virtually annihilated the traitors," they still maintained that "the enemy is still hiding among us." As a result, they launched a campaign to "attack and mop up the enemy," a campaign that lasted for several months (from April to June, 1977), determined to "purify" the entirety of Region 108, that is, the north. Pol Pot personally took charge of the large-scale campaigns of terror and massacre in the provinces of Preah Vihear, Mondulkiri and Kratie and a number of other places in the north and northwest.

As regards the army, they lacked confidence in it and felt that it "had not been purified," consequently, it was "necessary to purge it of dangerous elements and lackeys of the enemy." They launched a campaign to check and re-examine the personal histories of all commanders on all levels and all soldiers; during the final 6 months of 1977, they conducted many campaigns to arrest and murder commanders and soldiers within many units, from the company level to the division and even the military region level.(20)

Millions of persons were killed without record of any trial. The number of "important criminals"(who included high ranking leadership cadres within the party, government and army) murdered by the Pol Pot clique between 1976 and April, 1978 was recorded as 242, most of whom were killed in 1977. This proves that in the nearly 3 years of their dictatorial and fascist regime, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique failed to extinguish the opposition to them among the various strata of the people, especially among persons who held important positions within their own government apparatus.

On 25 May 1978, a vicious campaign of terror was launched in Military Region 203 in eastern Kampuchea. Xo Phim (that is, Souvanna), a member of the Standing Committee of the "Party Central Committee" who was its first vice chairman as well as the secretary of the Military Region Party Committee and commander of the Military Region, was convicted of being a "traitor" because he did not endorse the arbitrary and bellicose policies and measures of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. On 24 May 1978, Pol Pot personally signed the order to kill Xo Phim and ordered the "eradication" within eastern Kampuchea of 1.5 million persons, the majority of whom were "type one" citizens (that is, persons who participated in the previous war of resistance). At many places, entire villages and families were murdered, leaving not one survivor alive.

At the time, the Pol Pot clique was suffering continuous defeats in its war against Vietnam. Many Kampuchean soldiers refused to be sent to their deaths by Pol Pot in the war of aggression against Vietnam. Opposition within the Pol Pot army rose to a high level. The people of Kampuchea now had better conditions than ever before for arising and coordinating their efforts with those of the Vietnamese fighting to defend their own sovereignty and territory. At many places, leaflets of the genuine revolutionary forces of Kampuchea appeared, appealing to the army and youths to stop killing their own people, stop fighting Vietnam and turn their weapons on the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionaries.

In November, 1978, insurgent forces in eastern Kampuchea, with the help of the local people, destroyed a large base of Pol Pot in northwestern Dam Bay District in Kompong Cham Province. Insurgent forces also intensified their activities in Kanchorich and Thnan Khemun Districts by coordinating the armed struggle with political propaganda among the people and the proselytizing of troops within the Pol Pot army. Mutinies occurred within a number of the units of the Pol Pot army.

Uprisings quickly spread in the northeast, in the provinces of Stung Treng, Rattanakiri, Tbeng Meanchey, Preah Vihear, Siem Reap, etc. Guerrilla bases were established. Many ruthless government officials were punished for their crimes. Self-government by the people began to emerge in a number of rural areas in the delta. Many genuine patriots in the government and army of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary disassociated themselves from the regime and joined the ranks of the people. A number of units of the Pol Pot army became units of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces.

On 2 December 1978, at a number of places within the liberated zone, more than 200 delegates representing the various strata of the people in all areas of the country and persons who had returned from overseas together with representatives of the insurgent forces who had disassociated themselves from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary government and army held the Congress To Establish the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation. The delegates attending the congress unanimously approved the 11-point declaration of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation concerning the tasks and goals of the revolution, a declaration that expressed the will and aspiration of the people to unite in a struggle to topple the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary reactionary and nepotic clique, build a Kampuchea of peace, independence, democracy, neutrality and non-alignment and advance to socialism. The flag of

the front was established as a flag consisting of five gold shrine domes against a red background. A 14 member Central Committee of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation was established, the chairman of which was Heng Samrin, former member of the Executive Committee of the Eastern Region party organization and former political officer and commander of the 4th Division. A news agency of the front, referred to as SPK, and the Voice of the Kampuchean People Radio Station were also established.

The birth of the front occurred precisely when required by the development of the Kampuchean revolution and satisfied the urgent desire of the people to unite within a force struggling on the basis of a correct leadership line to save the nation from genocide, save the country from the threat of annexation posed by the great nation expansionism and big country hegemony of China.

Under the front's leadership, the spontaneous uprisings of the people became a widespread movement of revolutionary struggle throughout the country, a movement that won one victory after another. Within a short amount of time, the newly established revolutionary armed forces quickly increased their fighting strength, launched continuous attacks to annihilate the forces of the enemy and liberated many areas.

The 3rd Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party adopts the new political platform and measures for rebuilding the party:

In the surge of uprisings by all the people of Kampuchea, genuine party members who had disassociated themselves from the apparatus of terror of Pol Pot came together and convened a conference of delegates that was, in its nature, a national congress of the party.(21) The congress, which met for 4 days in early January, 1979, was attended by 66 delegates. They unanimously adopted the new political platform and various measures designed to rebuild the party. This congress marked a fundamental change in the rebuilding of Kampuchea's revolutionary vanguard unit.

The political platform of the party outlined the world situation and the Kampuchean social situation and defined the present, dangerous enemy of the Kampuchean revolution as the Chinese reactionaries collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionary powers. The platform reviewed the fully criminal actions of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the economic, political, cultural and social fields of life and analyzed the very malicious schemes and methods of the traitors who had destroyed the party. At the same time, the platform observed: since the founding of the National United Front for National Salvation, the revolutionary situation in Kampuchea has been and is developing in a very favorable manner.

The platform defined the main antagonisms of Kampuchean society, the targets of the revolutionary struggle, the forces and stimuli of the revolution, the leadership of the revolution, etc. It set forth the basic tasks of the Kampuchean revolution as toppling the regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the lackeys of the great nation expansionism and big country hegemony of China, truly making the people the masters of the country, establishing a democratic system, building a Kampuchea of peace, independence and democracy and advancing to socialism. The platform called for a Kampuchea that lives in

peace and friendship with fraternal neighboring countries and has friendly, cooperative relations with the socialist countries and all other countries, regardless of their political and social systems.

The congress debated the basic policies of the party in the new situation, such as building the people's democratic government; establishing the National United Front for National Salvation and the revolutionary mass organizations; building a revolutionary people's army; restoring and developing the economy, culture and education system; formulating the nationalities policy and the foreign policy...

The issue of rebuilding the party occupied a very important position within the political platform. The platform asserted: the party is the organized vanguard unit and the highest organization of the Kampuchean working class. The party consists of the most enlightened, exemplary, brave and dedicated members of the working class, farmers and revolutionary intellectuals who voluntarily join the ranks of the party. The party considers building and forging itself into a genuine and increasingly solid and strong Marxist-Leninist party to be the matter of most decisive significance.

As regards ideology, the party waged a relentless struggle against the bourgeois nationalist viewpoints and stand that constituted the theoretical foundation of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique; against dogmatism and every expression of "leftwing" opportunism regarding the theory of class struggle; against every distortion of history and attempt to discredit the struggle of the party and divide it internally; and against every manifestation of dictatorship, arbitrariness and individualism within the party.

The elimination of non-proletarian, narrowminded nationalist thinking was one of the most pressing tasks faced in the building of the party. In order to successfully carry out its difficult revolutionary tasks at that time, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party attached importance to strengthening the militant solidarity between the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the Vietnam Communist Party, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and all other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties more than ever before in the spirit of pure proletarian internationalism and the spirit of exchanging revolutionary experiences and assisting one another.

As regards its organization, the party adopted the principle of democratic centralism and made the practice of criticism and self-criticism the law of its development. It stressed self-imposed discipline, a unity of will and action within the party and opposition to every form of divisiveness, factionalism, localism, jealousy and desire for status and opposition to every act of dictatorial behavior, arbitrariness, bureaucracy and intimidation within the party.

The Kampuchean National Committee To Build the Party was established and began to promote the rebuilding of every area of the party's organization. With regard to the development of the party and the building of its new organizational system, the political platform stated: party members and cadres must be selected from among outstanding persons within the working class, among farmers and revolutionary intellectuals who do not owe blood

debts to the people. Former party members, if they had not committed crimes and supported the new platform of the party, were to be evaluated and recognized as official party members.

The fine success of the 3rd Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party occurred at a time when the position and forces of the revolution were constantly growing throughout the country. Now, the Kampuchean revolution had a vanguard unit that had charted a course that would rapidly lead it to glorious victory.

The historic victory on 7 January 1979 and the founding of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

Between late December, 1978 and early January, 1979, the Kampuchean revolution faced a more favorable opportunity than ever before.

While the main force troops of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary were suffering continuous, heavy defeats in the border war against Vietnam, the revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea, together with the people, seizing upon the opportunity provided by the weakness and vulnerability of the enemy within the country, staged strong uprisings and attacks against their bases, catching them unprepared and creating confusion among their ranks. On 27 December, the three remaining strongest divisions of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, following 4 days of reckless and deep penetration into the territory of Vietnam (with the objective of attacking and occupying Tay Ninh City) were nearly completely destroyed in the area of Ben Soi. The other divisions that violated the border from Ha Tien to Pleiku also met with strong retaliation and the majority of them were either wiped out or routed. The large-scale attack by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, an attack engineered by China, against the southwestern border of Vietnam had been defeated. Charging forth in the midst of victory, the army of Vietnam, in coordination with the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces, mopped up the remnants of the defeated enemy, inflicting many heavy losses upon them. The momentum of the attacks and uprisings of the Kampuchean people surged throughout the country.

Promptly seizing this once in 1,000 years opportunity, the Revolutionary Military Command of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation issued the order for a general offensive and mass uprisings.

On 30 December 1978, the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces and local people opened the door to victory by attacking and staging uprisings to liberate Lam Phat City in Rattanakiri and Kratie City. They killed or captured hundreds of enemy troops and shot down three T28 aircraft of Pol Pot that had been sent to rescue his accomplices.

On 31 December, the town of Vuon Say in Stung Treng Province and Tonle Bet in Kompong Cham Province fell into the hands of the revolutionary army.

By 1 January 1979, the liberated zone in the northeast had been extended to the bank of the Mekong River and, on 4 January 1979, Kampuchean revolutionary forces took complete control of the two cities of Stung Treng and Svay Rieng.

On 5 January, the town of Niec Luong, an important gateway to the capital Phnom Penh lying along Route 1 and Prey Veng Province were liberated.

On 6 January, the shadow of the genocidal clique was removed from Kompong Cham City.

The powerful attacks by the revolutionary armed forces continued to develop, shaking all the provinces of northern Kampuchea. The outer defense line of Phnom Penh had been crushed. Pochetong Airport was being threatened. The Pol Pot clique no longer had the forces needed to defend Phnom Penh because their well trained, main force divisions had been wiped out in Tay Ninh in the aggression against Vietnam. They hastily abandoned the capital Phnom Penh and fled in panic along with their Chinese advisors to Thailand.

In coordination with the people, the revolutionary army advanced on the capital from all directions. At 1230 hours on 7 January 1979, the capital Phnom Penh was totally liberated. The bright red flag with the five gold shrine domes of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation flew from the tops of buildings and temples of the capital.

On the same day, the port city of Kompong Som and the city of TaKeo were liberated. Between 9 and 12 January, the cities of Kampot, Kompong Thom, Siem Reap and Kompong Chhnang and the municipality of Battambang were liberated one after another. The remnants of the Pol Pot army in the several remaining cities, such Sam Rong, Pursat and Ko Kong, were wiped out between 14 and 17 January. The dictatorial, militarist regime of the Pol Pot-Leng Sary clique that had been supported by the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles for nearly 4 years had been crushed. The uprising by the people of Kampuchea to save their country and themselves had won total victory. Coordinating with the fraternal people of Vietnam in the fight against the common enemy, the people of Kampuchea bravely arose and pulled themselves from the abyss of genocide.

On 8 January 1979, SPK announced to the entire world: the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been born. A People's Revolutionary Council, the genuine and only legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea, the chairman of which is Heng Samrin, has been established and is managing the entire country and leading the people in implementing the platform of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation, a platform that glows with the brilliance of Kampuchea's just cause.

This was an important historic event in the political life of the people of Kampuchea.

The 10 January 1979 Declaration of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea stressed: "The people of Kampuchean paid for their independence and freedom with the lives of countless outstanding sons of the nation and have today truly become the genuine masters of the country. All the people of Kampuchea are determined to protect their revolutionary accomplishments at all costs and make every effort to rebuild our country that was ravaged by the Pol Pot-Leng Sary clique."

The historic victory won on 7 January 1979 ushered in a new era in Kampuchea, the era of true independence and freedom, the era of the advance to socialism. This victory was, at the same time, a common victory of the peoples of the three countries of Indochina, one that opened a new stage in the relations of friendship and cooperation among the three countries of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos and with the other countries in Southeast Asia, relations that have made a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in this region and the world.

The victory won on 7 January 1979 crushed the evil plan of the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles to use their bellicose Kampuchean lackeys to undermine the Vietnamese revolution. The scheme of the Chinese reactionaries to annex Kampuchea and use it as a springboard for achieving great nation expansionism and big country hegemony throughout Indochina had met with shameful defeat.

Under the correct leadership of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, the National United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council, the people of Kampuchea have made strong and continuous progress and won many large victories in their cause of defending and building the fatherland.

#### IV. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Leads the People of Kampuchea in Uniting To Maintain Their Independence, Rebuild the Fatherland and Make a Gradual Transition to Socialism

The struggle to rebuild the country and maintain and strengthen the government:

After the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was toppled, the people of Kampuchea urgently began performing the immediate tasks set forth by the People's Revolutionary Council. The first task faced was to crush every plan of the enemy to sabotage the revolutionary accomplishments of the people while continuing to pursue and apprehend reactionaries who were stubbornly resisting the revolutionary government.

Although the genocidal regime had collapsed, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary powers, still tried to sustain and support the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in a vain attempt to maintain it so that it could continue to oppose and attack the Kampuchean revolution. The ringleaders of the reactionaries made every effort to gather their remnant forces and lay their hands on weapons and grain; they forced hundreds of thousands of people into the treacherous mountain jungles bordering Thailand to establish a base area in the vain hope of rewinning a few important positions and waging a protracted "guerrilla war." In their final stage, they continued to commit many crimes and killed or left thousands of persons deep within the jungle to die of starvation and disease.

During the first 6 months of 1979, with the support of the people and the assistance of Vietnamese volunteer forces, the revolutionary armed forces of Kampuchea repeatedly attacked and destroyed all the strongholds of the enemy

(22), putting out of combat some 42,000 enemy troops and capturing many Chinese weapons. In addition, tens of thousands of tons of paddy and hundreds of tons of salt stolen by the enemy from the people were also reclaimed and distributed to the starving persons who had just escaped the clutches of the enemy.

The routed military forces of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique became small groups of bandits living on supplies from international reactionaries and food stolen from the people. In coordination with other groups of traitorous reactionaries, they conducted clandestine activities in the treacherous mountainous jungles and along the western border of Kampuchea, disrupting the peaceful life of labor of the people. However, the people rapidly organized guerrilla forces and hunted down the remnants of the enemy's army; at the same time, they educated and persuaded the soldiers of the enemy to join the revolution and destroy the enemy's hidden stockpiles of food and weapons.

In order to rebuild the country, the party and government of Kampuchea had to contend with difficulties unprecedented in history: quickly putting back together the lives of the country's 4 million citizens and bringing the people from the miserable plight caused by the extremely grave consequences of the genocidal regime.(23)

It can be said that the rebuilding of Kampuchea started from nothing. However, within a relatively short amount of time, the people of Kampuchea, arising from the death, destruction and devastation and displaying extraordinary vitality, moved strongly forward and quickly brought their nation back to life.

Throughout the country, there was an intense movement underway among the people to return to their former villages that had been deserted for several years while they were being maltreated in the concentration camps. Making every effort to overcome each difficulty they faced, the people turned their efforts to working and restored their ravaged economy. The governments on the various levels promptly provided them with grain, food, clothing, medicine, production tools and household utensils in order to begin stabilizing their lives. Thousands of tons of seed paddy given as a gift by the Vietnamese arrived at the right time, thereby helping the people of Kampuchea quickly restore their agricultural production.

The production solidarity teams established by the people on a voluntary basis enabled them to help one another rebuild their houses, evenly distribute the supply of grain, seed, farm implements, draft power, etc. Through diligent labor, they gradually turned wilderness areas into rice fields and slash and burn fields under the cultivation of subsidiary food crops. The green of vegetable and fruit crops quickly returned to the garden plot of each family. Hunger was gradually alleviated.

Following many years of separation, families and villages were reunited; bustling markets reappeared. The many highways, water routes and railroad lines of the communications-transportation network were restored to operation. At the installations in the power, water, textile, printing and other

industries, machines began operating. The post-telegraph sector, which had been totally dismantled, was restored in many localities.

Many provincial and municipal hospitals were repaired, promptly began receiving patients and brought life back to countless persons who had been maltreated, were sick or disabled. Public health stations, maternity clinics and mobile public health units were established in all districts and villages in order to care for the health of the people. The many new schools that had sprung up resounded with the happy sounds of children. In a number of localities, schools for children of the ethnic minorities and boarding schools for orphans were also built.

Cultural life was restored. Religious beliefs were respected. The mass art movement and fine customs and traditions were supported. Throughout hamlets and villages, spirited singing and dancing occurred among many different age groups.

In the space of only 1 year, the people of Kampuchea recorded many achievements in the effort to heal the wounds of the war, restore and develop the economy, develop their culture and stabilize their lives.

From the ashes of genocide, they country of Kampuchea has been and is bringing itself back to life in a remarkable manner. The system of revolutionary governments on the various levels, from the central to the basic levels, has been strengthened more with each passing day and displayed its effectiveness. The organizations of youths and women, the trade union and so forth have been established and developed in all localities and within agencies and enterprises. The activities of the various committees and sectors on the different levels have gradually been put on a regular basis.

The young People's Republic of Kampuchea with its foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment broadened its activities and has established friendly relations with many countries of the world. The international position and prestige of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have been constantly enhanced. (24)

The Vietnam-Kampuchea Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed on 18 February 1979 in Phnom Penh marked a development of special importance in the militant solidarity, cooperation and friendship between the two countries. "This treaty is an important factor insuring the national construction and the firm defense of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and the defeat of each scheme and act of intervention and aggression of the Chinese reactionaries, the imperialists and the other reactionary powers."(25)

During an official visit of friendship on 25 August 1979 to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam by a delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea headed by Chairman Heng Samrin, the two sides confirmed: the presence of Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea is totally consistent with the interests of the peoples of the two countries, consistent with the principles of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations charter. When the Beijing expansionists and the imperialist and reactionary powers no longer threaten

the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peaceful life of the people of Kampuchea, Vietnamese volunteer forces will, with the consent of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, be withdrawn.

On 22 March 1979, the Treaty of Economic, Cultural and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea was signed in the capital Phnom Penh, thus marking a very important development in the history of the relations between these two countries.

Clearly, "the militant solidarity and mutual support based on the independence and sovereignty of each country that exist among the people of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam and are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are a fine tradition, are an important factor insuring the victory of the revolution of each of the three countries of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam."(26)

In August, 1979, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Court met in Phnom Penh for 5 days (from 15 to 19 August 1979) and tried the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, the perpetrators of the genocide; at the same time, it exposed the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists as the masterminds behind this crime. The death sentence imposed by the court upon these two abominable criminals was totally consistent with the aspirations of the Kampuchean people and just public opinion in the world. It was another indication of the strength and stability of the new system in Kampuchea.

The large and comprehensive victories mentioned above are eloquent proof that the Kampuchean situation cannot be reversed, that the destiny of Kampuchea is being determined solely by the Kampuchean people. These victories have created additional favorable circumstances for all the people of Kampuchea to continue to move strongly forward in the cause of defending and rebuilding their country.

The just cause of the Kampuchean people has won the increasing sympathy and support of the forces of national independence and democracy, of the peace and justice loving forces of the entire world. On 20 May 1980, the International Council of Solidarity with the People of Kampuchea, which was organized on the initiative of the World Peace Council, met in the capital Phnom Penh. The more than 80 delegates of international organizations and countries unanimously appealed to the world to "give the people of Kampuchea the greatest amount of spiritual and material assistance possible; quickly recognize the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council; immediately drive the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal clique from the United Nations and other international organizations; and restore the legitimate position of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council in these organizations."

The year 1981 marked many important events in the political life of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. On 1 June 1981, the general election to elect the 1st National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea was held. Some 97.82 percent of the voters of the 20 provinces and municipalities excitedly cast their ballots in 8,000 voting districts, electing 117 National Assembly delegates (27)(from among 148 candidates). Under the close observation of many international representatives, the election was carried

out amidst order and security and the principles of freedom, democracy, universality and a secret ballot were upheld.

As has been the case with all the other political activities of the people, such as the discussion of the draft of the Constitution, the election of village and ward people's committees, and so forth, the National Assembly election proved the strong, solid confidence that the people of Kampuchea have in the new system, in the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council; at the same time, it proved to the world that the people of Kampuchea are the true masters of Kampuchea.

Also during the first days of May, 1981, the International Conference of Solidarity with the People of Kampuchea, which was convened by the Organization for Afro-Asian People's Solidarity, met in Phnom Penh.

The conference denounced the barbarous and unprecedented genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique; highly praised the comprehensive and unselfish assistance given to Kampuchea by Vietnam; and appealed to all the governments and people of the world to support and assist the people of Kampuchea in many different ways in their work of building and defending the fatherland. The conference also defined the enemy's of the people of Kampuchea as the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary powers, had been intervening in and sabotaging Kampuchea, thus causing a tense and unstable situation in Indochina and Southeast Asia. At the same time, the conference denounced the convening of the so called "International Conference on Kampuchea," considering it to be a brazen attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

In June, 1981, the 1st Legislature of the Kampuchean National Assembly held its first session and ratified the Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This first democratic, progressive Constitution establishes the goal of building a Kampuchea of independence, peace, freedom, democracy and non-alignment and advancing to socialism. The new government elected by the National Assembly is the only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. Also during that time, the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation changed its name to the United Front for the Construction and Defense of the Kampuchean Fatherland.

The 4th Congress of the Party (May, 1981) and the tasks of building and defending the Kampuchean fatherland in the new stage:

The 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, which was held from 26 to 29 May 1981 in Phnom Penh, was attended by 162 delegates from the party organizations of the two cities of Phnom Penh and Kompong Som and the 18 provinces of the country (they included 8 women delegates, 46 ethnic minority delegates and 34 delegates representing the revolutionary armed forces).

Eleven delegations from fraternal parties also attended the congress.

The congress set forth the political line and the revolutionary objectives and tasks of the people of Kampuchea in the new situation; strengthened the leadership of the party, strengthened the solidarity and unanimity within and outside the party; resulted in stronger international solidarity; mobilized the people to implement the resolutions adopted by the congress; and elected the new Central Committee to lead the people in meeting the goals of the revolution, maintaining national independence, advancing the country to socialism and building a Kampuchea of independence, peace, freedom and prosperity.

The political report presented at the congress clearly described the long and arduous struggle by the people of Kampuchea to win independence and freedom; the struggle by the people of Kampuchea to defend and rebuild the country during the 2 years following the overthrow of the genocidal regime; the efforts made to maintain national independence and build the country in the advance toward socialism; the immediate tasks and guidelines of the Kampuchean revolution; and the task of building a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

The report on party work described the growth and the tremendous achievements of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party in the course of the revolutionary struggle and set forth the tasks of developing and solidifying the party, making the party increasingly strong and solid and continuing to lead the Kampuchean revolution to new victories.

The resolution of the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party consisted of four parts.

- 1) The historic victory won on 7 January 1979 was a victory of national solidarity combined with international solidarity.
- 2) The revolutionary tasks of the entire party and all the people in the present stage.
- 3) Foreign policy.
4. The task of building a strong and solid Marxist-Leninist party.

The revolution defined the present tasks of the Kampuchean revolution as: firmly maintaining national independence, building the fatherland and making a gradual transition to socialism.

The revolutionary line of the party in the present stage of the revolution consists of the following several basic elements:

- Brandishing the banner of patriotism and the banner of proletarian international solidarity.
- Defending the fatherland is the foremost, very sacred task of all the people.
- Restoring and developing the economy and culture and making a gradual transition to socialism in order to achieve a life of comfort and happiness.

--Uniting all the people and defending and building the fatherland through the strength of the people.

Concerning foreign policy, the resolution states: the People's Republic of Kampuchea is an independent and sovereign country. Kampuchea, which is part of the great family of socialist countries, will continue to strengthen its solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries and unite with the international communist and worker movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Kampuchea will always work to strengthen its fraternal friendship and militant solidarity with Vietnam and Laos, considering this to be the strategic task of foremost importance of the party and state of Kampuchea in foreign affairs in the immediate future as well as over the long range.

The resolution of the congress emphasizes: building the party in the present stage of the revolution is the most pressing strategic task of the Kampuchean revolution.

The resolution states: the party has as its ideological foundation the thinking of the working class, that is, Marxism-Leninism(...) The party has attached foremost importance to the task of propagandizing and teaching Marxism-Leninism and the line of the party among the people, beginning with party members and cadres. We must be determined to abolish the influences of Maoism, the embodiment of which in Kampuchea is the bogus socialism and radical reactionary nationalism of Pol Pot.

"The party always closely combines genuine patriotism with pure proletarian internationalism, brandishes the banners of patriotism and international solidarity, of solidarity between Kampuchea and Vietnam, solidarity among the three countries of Indochina and solidarity with the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement. It is determined to rid itself of the poisons of the radical reactionary nationalism of Pol Pot and eliminate the remnants of other non-proletarian thinking."

The congress also stressed the need to closely link the building of the party to the revolutionary movement of the masses and constantly heighten the flesh and blood relationship between the party and the people. Cadres and party members must be good leaders who wholeheartedly serve the people and must combat bureaucracy, the intimidation of the masses and all violations of the people's democratic rights. They must concern themselves with strengthening the solidarity of the party politically, ideologically and organizationally and resolutely oppose all thinking and every action that cause divisions and factions within the party.

The congress adopted the Statutes (revised) of the Party and elected a new, 21 member Central Committee.

The 4th Central Committee of the Party elected an 8 member Political Bureau and a 7 member Secretariat.

The 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party was an event of tremendous importance and marked a turning point in the history of the

Kampuchean revolution. Following many years of arduous and glorious struggle, the Kampuchean revolution had met many challenges and won glorious victory. The 4th Congress of the Party was the congress of the glorious victory of the Kampuchean people's cause of national liberation.

The congress cited the very important significance of strengthening the party's organization and improving the quality of cadres and party member. It reminded every party member and leadership cadre—who are precious assets of the nation—to always struggle, always forge themselves and forever be loyal to the cause of the revolution, be determined in the face of the enemy, be democratic and humble with the people, live a pure and simple life, unite and make every effort to learn and work hard in order to make continuous progress.

The victory of the congress made an important contribution to the victory of the alliance of the three fraternal countries of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos, to the common victory of the socialist countries, of the national liberation movement and the countries that possess national independence. The victory of the congress was also a defeat for the great nation expansionism and big country hegemony of China, which is collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionary powers.

The presence of the delegations from the fraternal parties at the congress, which reflected their affection and support, helped to enhance the international position of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

The Kampuchean revolution achieved stability and moved steadily forward:

Under the correct and wise leadership of the Kampuchean People's Party, the people of Kampuchea, who have stood firm in the face of every challenge, have devoted the full measure of their talents and intelligence to creative labor and brave combat, winning many large victories very worthy of pride.

The people's government has been established throughout the country. The Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces have grown and developed rapidly, in both size and quality and successfully performed their mission of mopping up the remnants of the Pol Pot army and other Khmer bandits, thus fully protecting the revolutionary accomplishments and the life of peaceful labor of the people.

The efforts made by the Kampuchean people are most evident on the economic front. Through an extraordinary effort, they prevented famine. Through diligent labor, they have gradually turned areas that were abandoned and became wilderness during the Pol Pot period back into fields. The amount of farmland increased from 800,000 hectares in 1979 to 1.5 million hectares in 1980 and 1.6 million hectares in 1982. The total amount of area under cultivation reached 1.86 million hectares in 1982, a 10 percent increase compared to 1981.(28)

Since 1980, the grain harvest has exceeded 1.5 million tons. In 1982, the agricultural production and grain procurement plan was surpassed.

The livestock production sector has also developed. Prior to liberation, only 700,000 head of buffalo and cattle remained, now there are nearly 1.5 million. The hog herd has increased by 20 percent compared to 1981.

The fish catch has also constantly risen: 1979-1980: slightly more than 20,000 tons; 1980-1981: 50,000 tons; and 1981-1982: 72,000 tons.(29)

In a short amount of time (1979-1980), 95,000 production solidarity teams were established and 90 percent of farmers joined them. Farmers have developed many effective forms of cooperation and mutual assistance and many ways of providing incentive to work.

The people have restored thousands of kilometers of canals and ditches and hundreds of dikes and dams; they have also repaired a number of large water conservancy project.(30)

Industry, which began to develop from virtually nothing, now includes 71 installations, including 57 factories. The handicraft sector has 1,500 installations with 5,000 handicraftsmen. Roads, railroad lines and water routes have been repaired and restored to operation, thus meeting passenger and cargo transportation needs. The Kompong Som seaport and the Phnom Penh river port have been reopened. International air routes to a number of fraternal countries have been established. The post-telegraph sector has been restored, thus providing communications within the country and with foreign countries. Commerce has been established and is effectively supporting the daily lives of the people. The riel that was issued in March, 1980 has retained its value and has played an important role in restoring and developing the economy and stabilizing life.

The people of Kampuchea have also recorded many achievements on the cultural, educational and public health fronts.

Under the new system, national culture and art have been enhanced. Three national art groups and 18 provincial literary and art units have been established to serve the cultural and spiritual lives of the people. The activities of the information, press, radio and publishing sectors as well as art and cinematography have been promoted. The state has given its attention to preserving historical projects, including the ancient Angkor temples, classical works of art and so forth.

The education system has been extended into all hamlets and villages. During the first school year (1979-1980), the revolutionary government opened 2,417 level I schools staffed 13,733 teachers and attended by 760,000 students. During the 1982-1983 school year, there were more than 3,200 schools; throughout the country, more than 1.6 million students attended schools ranging from kindergartens to colleges.(31) The corps of teachers has grown to more than 60,000 persons and the quality of both teaching and learning has been improved. More than 1 million persons have been taught to read and write since liberation day.

The public health network, which has developed rapidly, includes 25 hospitals, 8 of which are in Phnom Penh. One hundred percent of the country's villages

have a public health station. The public health sector has established a corps of cadres and personnel consisting of 11,000 persons (including 160 doctors and pharmacists). The people receive medical examinations and medical care free of charge.

Clearly, the system of revolutionary governments from the central to the basic level has been and is regulating and managing all the work of the country in an effective manner.

In foreign affairs, the very important peace initiatives jointly proposed by the three countries of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam in the recent past have won the sympathy and support of widespread public opinion in Southeast Asia and the world. The militant solidarity and cooperation among the three fraternal countries on the Indochina peninsula are developing and becoming stronger with each passing day. The friendly relations between Kampuchea and the Soviet Union as well as between Kampuchea and the other countries of the socialist community are also becoming stronger each day.

However, as the Kampuchean revolution develops, the reactionary powers within Beijing ruling circles are strengthening their collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other international reactionary powers in a frenzied effort to oppose and undermine Kampuchea. They have launched a counter-revolution "crusade" against the three countries of Indochina and set up the so called "Democratic Kampuchea Coalition Government" represented by the puppet Sihanouk in a vain attempt to conceal the disgusting face of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan genocidal clique. They have actively provided economic and military aid to the remnants of the "Khmer Rouge" army and other exiled Khmer bandits in order to thwart the rebuilding of Kampuchea. They have resorted to every villainous and crafty ploy imaginable in their effort to prevent the People's Republic of Kampuchea from achieving its legitimate right of representation at the United Nations.

However, their evil schemes and methods cannot avoid being defeated. As the Kampuchean revolution moves continuously forward, the reactionaries hostile toward Kampuchea will continue to grow weaker, fall into dissension and eventually collapse.

The resolution of the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party has been turned into enthusiastic, practical actions on the part of all the people of Kampuchea and yielded very fine results. The victory of the Kampuchean revolution has served to further strengthen the position of the revolution on the Indochina peninsula and further tighten the relations of friendly solidarity and full-scale cooperation between the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea. As General Secretary Heng Samrin once stressed:

"To our party and people, the word 'Vietnam' is very sacred: Vietnam is revolutionary heroism; Vietnam is synonymous with proletarian internationalism; Vietnam is a pure soul, is loyalty, close solidarity and noble sacrifice. This service will forever be deeply ingrained in the hearts and minds of each patriotic Kampuchean of this generation and countless generations to come."

"The entire party and all the people of Kampuchea promise to preserve the close solidarity and friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the fraternal people of Vietnam, preserve it as they would the apple of their eye, always display high vigilance and thwart each scheme and attempt to divide the three countries of Indochina, divide Kampuchea from Vietnam, from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries."(32)

The resolution of the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party also states: "Uniting and cooperating in every respect with Vietnam and Laos are the strategic thinking of the party, are an objective demand of history, are the issue determining the future fate of Kampuchea and represent pure revolutionary feelings, represent the unswerving stand of the new Kampuchean."

The Kampuchean revolution is in a period of development by leaps and bounds. The position and forces of the Kampuchean revolution are many times stronger than they once were. The prospects of the country of Angkor are very bright. Nothing can reverse the advance by the Kampuchean revolution.

As Le Duan pointed out in his congratulatory message at the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, "the brilliant victory of the Kampuchean revolution is an epic of ardent patriotism and the determination to fight and win of a nation that truly desires to be the master of its own destiny. It is the victory of the correct line of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, a party that has constantly brandished the banners of national independence and proletarian internationalism and combined its own strength with the fighting strength of the three countries of Indochina and the three revolutionary currents of our times, primarily the strength of the socialist community, the firm pillar and strong base of which is the Soviet Union..."

"The communist party and people of Vietnam are deeply proud to have the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party as their staunch comrade, as their loyal comrade-in-arms."(33)

As they move forward, the people of Kampuchea, brandishing the banner of genuine patriotism and the banner of international solidarity, will surely successfully implement the resolutions of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, defend Kampuchea and build it into a country of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and democracy and a country that is advancing to socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

16. This uprising was personally led by Bun Mi, the deputy secretary of Area 3; Bu Thoong, a commander with the Ratannakiri Provincial Military Commander and a member of the Northeast Military Region Command Staff; and Soi Keo, commander of the 703rd Main Force Battalion.
17. This uprising was led by Sai Phu Thoang. He was the only provincial level cadre who remained alive after the entire executive committee of the Ko Kong provincial party organization that attended the conference on the central level was murdered by the Pol Pot clique.

18. During first 6 months of 1977, according to a report by the Pol Pot clique on the health of the people of Kompong Ro District in Svay Rieng Province, many diseases had spread throughout the district, such as cholera, dysentery, chronic malaria, smallpox, dropsy, tuberculosis, etc. The number of persons who were sick during this period was 29,692.

Reviewing the Kampuchean situation during the first 6 months of 1978, the Pol Pot clique was forced to admit that "20 to 30 percent of the people lack food." In many areas in the east, living conditions were becoming increasingly tragic. "The women in the districts of Prasot Chantrea and Kompong Ro have no clothing and must take turns wearing skirts(...); the same situation exists in Tromung District. Very many people are sick and 100 percent of the children are stark naked. There is no rice to eat in Chlong District and Krok Chma District..."

19. Following liberation on 7 January 1979, mass graves were discovered in practically all areas of Kampuchea. The victims, who included young and old, men and women alike, had been executed using all kinds of knives, hammers, mallets and clubs. A typical example was the massacre of 20,000 persons buried in Amleng Village in Thpong District, Kompong Speu Province.

20. Of the 23 divisions of Pol Pot, 20 were purged one or two times. The four divisions of Military Region 203 were virtually purged beyond the point of recognition. The majority of their new recruits were less than 15 years of age.

21. From September, 1960 onward, after Pol Pot had seized leadership and began making every effort to destroy the party, this conference was recognized as the 3rd Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party.

22. The so called "high command" of the enemy in Amleng (Kompong Speu) and the command center of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary in Tasanh (Battambang) were attacked and destroyed; the western military command post in the mountains of Takeo Province and Kampot Province was shattered; the naval forces of the enemy hiding in the rivers in Ko Kong Province were annihilated and the final major stronghold of the enemy in the Lek and Krovan region (Pursat) was also destroyed.

Remnant enemy forces hiding in the mountainous jungles of the north and northeast were intensely hunted and forced to surrender.

23. Before being defeated, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique ordered the destruction of all granaries, the destruction of economic bases and means of communication and transportation and the destruction of buffalo and cattle; most of this destruction occurred in the provinces along the border with Vietnam and in Battambang Province on the western border.

24. By the end of 1979, more than 30 countries and national movements in the world had recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Many countries established diplomatic relations with the country and opened embassies in Phnom Penh. Hundreds of delegations from various countries and international organizations visited Kampuchea.
25. The joint declaration on the occasion of the official visit of friendship to the SRV by the delegation from the KPR on 25 August 1979.
26. The joint declaration by the People's Democratic Republic of Laos and the KPR on 22 March 1979.
27. They included 96 men and 21 women representing each stratum of society and all nationalities and religions.
28. Serious natural disasters occurred in 1981 but the amount of area under cultivation was maintained a 1.47 million hectares and a total of 1.6 million tons of grain were harvested.
29. During the Pol Pot period, the fish catch never exceeded 15,000 to 30,000 tons in any one year.
30. For example, the water conservancy system in Krasan Chnit in Kompong Thom which encompasses 25,000 hectares.
31. At present, Kampuchea has reopened the Teachers College, the College of Medicine and Pharmacy and the Kampuchea-Soviet Union Advanced Technical Institute; it has constructed schools to train technical workers and dozens of vocational schools of the various sectors. Since its reopening in 1979, the Phnom Penh College of Medicine and Pharmacy has trained 111 doctors and 141 pharmacists.
32. Excerpt from the congratulatory message delivered by Heng Samrin, chief of the delegation from the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, at the 5th Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party (28 March 1982).
33. Excerpt from the congratulatory message delivered by General Secretary Le Duan, chief of the delegation from the Vietnam Communist Party, at the 4th Congress of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (27 May 1981).

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## A NEW TRAGEDY IS BEFALLING THE PEOPLE OF CHINA

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 84-86, 88

[Article by Le Tinh]

[Text] In the name of "rectification," a widespread purge is now underway in China. Official documents of the Chinese authorities stated the objectives of this campaign as "achieving ideological uniformity, bringing about a change in style, strengthening discipline and purifying the organization."(1) To achieve these objectives, they are purging "three types of persons." The first type is "the traitors who emerged during the cultural revolution." The second type is "persons whose thinking reflects serious factionalism, persons who made every effort to spread the reactionary thinking of the Lam Buu-Giang Thanh counter-revolutionaries during the cultural revolution." The third type is "elements who commit assault upon others, vandalism and robbery and persons who, during the cultural revolution, murdered cadres and civilians, employed severe punishment and torture to force persons to testify and disabled other persons."

The "three types of persons" described above are the very same forces that Mao Zedong used to topple the Luu Thieu Ky-Deng Xiaoping faction in the "cultural revolution." By launching this campaign to purge these "three types of persons," Deng Xiaoping is showing his determination to retaliate against those who toppled him in the cultural revolution. These "three types of persons" are the opposition faction that threatens the survival of the Deng faction. The fact that these "three types of persons" are widespread proves that the consequences of the "cultural revolution" are extremely serious. The fierce struggle between the Deng faction and these "three types of persons" proves that the Chinese Communist Party has within itself persons who are always killing one another in a struggle for power and position. This, in turn, proves that Mao created an entire social stratum of persons who enjoyed special rights and privileges to serve as the foundation of his regime. This heritage that Mao bequeathed to China is truly a severe and harmful one.

The existence of the "three types of persons" proves that the previous purges conducted by the Deng Xiaoping faction were unsuccessful. Since returning to power, Deng has tried hard to purge the opposition through many different campaigns. These campaigns began with the trial of the "Gang of Four." Next,

there was the attack to topple the "two rules" faction.(2) This was followed by the "four changes" campaign, in which "rejuvenation" was the main element. This so called "rejuvenation" was designed to push the opposition faction into the background, a background called the "second line," or force them into retirement. There were also campaigns to "reform the administrative structure" and "reorganize the apparatus on the various levels." And, the most recent is the campaign to study "the selected works of Deng," which has the objective of molding China in accordance with Deng's thinking and insuring that this thinking "truly plays the role of commander-in-chief in the field of ideology." The so called thinking of Deng is nothing more than a jumbled assortment of feudal, bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas, especially ideas that reflect great Han chauvinism, expansionism and hegemony, ideas that are anti-Soviet, anti-Vietnam and against the world revolution. Deng's scheme is to lay the ideological and organizational foundation for the implementation of his reactionary policies. However, although they have resorted to every clever trick at their disposal, the Deng Xiaoping faction has only achieved majority control on the central level. Every policy and measure that is put through without a hitch by Deng on the upper level is thwarted and obstructed when it reaches the lower level. In the face of this situation, the Deng Xiaoping clique decided to launch a 3 year "comprehensive and systematic rectification" campaign beginning in the autumn of 1983. Why is it necessary for Deng Xiaoping to launch a new purge? It is necessary because the implementation of his policies has met with strong opposition. Deng Xiaoping must mobilize forces to crush the powers that oppose him in order to successfully implement his policies.

Within the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese society, there are, in addition to the "cultural revolution" faction that opposes the Deng Xiaoping faction, other forces that oppose Deng's line. Foremost among them are the genuine communists and the laboring people of China. They want to steer China along the course of genuine revolution. They have been branded as "factions" by Deng Xiaoping in order to provide him with an opportunity to suppress them. Fully aware of the fact that the people detest the traitors of the cultural revolution, Deng Xiaoping has cleverly placed these traitors in the same corner as the other persons being purged in order to purge them as well. He has also accused them of all sorts of crimes: "Obstinately opposing the line" of Deng; "being skeptical of and denying or intentionally distorting the four basic principles"(set forth by Deng); "going against the line, guidelines and basic policies" of Deng; and "openly objecting to or covertly opposing" the ideological viewpoints of Deng. And, in fact, more and more persons within the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese society are expressing their dissatisfaction with the domestic and foreign policies of Deng Xiaoping. The Chinese know that they cannot accept the policies of Deng that are allowing capitalism to re-emerge, allowing the private economy to develop, allowing exploitation to spread and allowing the rich to become richer and live lives of luxury at a time when tens of millions of Chinese laborers are unemployed or working themselves to the point of exhaustion but still not having enough to eat. Patriotic Chinese feel sorrow as they watch Deng letting western capitalism infiltrate their country to plunder its resources, exploit its labor and trample upon the independence and sovereignty of China. Genuine Chinese revolutionaries are indignant over the policy of the Deng Xiaoping clique of joining hands with the U.S. imperialists and international

reactionaries to oppose the Soviet Union, commit aggression against Vietnam and oppose and undermine the world revolution. They are heart-broken as they watch the Deng Xiaoping clique turn China into a western-style society, a society awash with "waves of unwholesomeness and decadence." Deng's "open door" policy toward the West has caused Chinese society, every aspect of which still bears the unhealed wounds of the "cultural revolution," to "fester," to break out in sores, become diseased, become filled with "cancer." Genuine communists and patriots in China are not indifferent toward this painful situation. They have emphatically opposed the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of Deng Xiaoping. Deng Xiaoping considers these opposition forces to be the target of his purge and is determined to crush them.

The purge now being conducted in China by Deng Xiaoping in the name of "rectification" is a two-fold purge. On the one hand, it is an internal battle, a do-or-die fight for special rights and privileges among the factions within Chinese ruling circles. This phenomenon has occurred so many times that it is virtually a law in the China of Maoism. Although it is an internal fight, it will not only cause upheavals and disruptions within the Chinese Communist Party, it will also have a broad and profound impact upon the whole of social life in China. On the other hand, it is a campaign to suppress genuine communists and Chinese patriots, a campaign to terrorize the Chinese people, from youths, intellectuals, writers, artists and researchers in the social and natural sciences, to workers, farmers and the Chinese army. That is, everyone who does not support Deng's policies will not escape the full-scale purge being conducted by the Deng Xiaoping clique.

Deng's objectives this time are to uproot the opposition faction and severely suppress the people of China in order to impose the "thinking of Deng Xiaoping," that is, impose great Han chauvinism, great nation expansionism, big country hegemony, anti-Soviet thinking and virulent anti-communism. This is also a shameless brand of opportunism and pragmatism, of prostrating oneself before the dollar and the technology of the United States and the West in order to carry out modernization, primarily military modernization, with a view toward quickly becoming a superpower and becoming ruler of the world, beginning by annexing Vietnam, Indochina and Southeast Asia.

In recent days, world opinion has paid very close attention to what is happening in China. Many persons agree that Deng is trying to remove every obstacle and clear the way for his pro-U.S. and pro-West policy. Many persons have expressed their lack of support for the barbaric, medieval methods of suppression being employed by the Deng Xiaoping clique to achieve their objectives. Only the U.S. imperialists and the Pol Pot genocidal clique as well as all reactionaries of the same ilk in the world are applauding Deng and wishing him success. Because, it is obvious that Deng's fate is closely linked to the interests of these forces.

Reactionary and anti-popular by nature, the Deng Xiaoping clique cannot succeed in their scheme. The people of China, having been forged in the long process of their revolution, surely will not allow themselves to become the slaves of Deng Xiaoping. In the end, the internal strife and the measures being taken by the Deng Xiaoping clique to suppress the people will bring another tragedy upon China. We deeply sympathize with the people of China who

are suffering at the cruel hands of the Deng Xiaoping clique. We are firmly confident that the fraternal people of China will, in the end, return to the course of genuine socialism, the only course capable of bringing them peace, freedom and happiness once again.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In this article, the sentences and words within quotation marks are excerpts from the Notice issued by the 2nd Plenum of the 12th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, 12 October 1983.
2. Denotes the Hoa Quoc Feng faction and is derived from the following two sentences spoken by Hoa Quoc Feng: "Rule number one is that we will resolutely defend any decision or policy set forth by Chairman Mao. Rule number two is that we will always fully comply with the directives issued by Chairman Mao.

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A LOOK AT THE SITUATION IN FRANCE: ARE LEFTWING FORCES CONTROLLING POLITICAL POWER OR IS POLITICAL POWER CONTROLLING LEFTWING FORCES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 83 pp 87-88

[Article by Phuong Son]

[Text] It has been slightly less than 2 years since Mr. Mitterrand, the leader of the French Socialist Party, entered the Elysee Palace. During the past 2 years, how have Mr. Mitterrand and the French Socialist Party implemented socialism in France?

During the initial period, the French Socialist Party, the ruling party in France, with the participation of a few representatives of the communist party within the government, brought about important socio-economic reforms, such as nationalizing the private banks, providing for workers to participate in the management of enterprises, granting a number of benefits to laborers, caring for the elderly, increasing the authority of the localities, reducing bureaucratic centralism within the central government, etc. These reforms have benefited the working people. They were brought about as a result of demands by the mass of workers; brought about at the urging of the French Communist Party, a party participating in the ruling coalition; and brought about because the French Socialist Party had not forgotten the promises it made during the campaign and wanted to repay those persons who had put it into power.

However, it was not long before the leaders of the French Socialist Party and its representatives within the government did forget the promises they made to the electorate. They have also not listened to the opinions of the representatives of the French Communist Party, their allies within the government. They have retreated more with each day in the face of pressure from rightwing forces at home and abroad. The progressive reforms have stopped. Gradually, ever so gradually, the government of which the socialist party constitutes the absolute majority has divorced itself from the program that it promised to voters during the 1981 election campaign.

In March, 1983, the leftwing government monopolized by the socialist party announced the "Delors Plan," a plan bearing the name of the economic and finance minister, a member of the French Socialist Party, to implement a

policy of "strict economization." This was a heavy blow to the lives of the working class and laboring people of France. At a time when the prices of essential goods has been rising sharply, the government continues to maintain a policy of no wage increases.

France has become increasingly mired in crisis but Mr. Mitterrand has no effective program at all for leading the country from this serious economic and social crisis. The most serious social problem is the employment problem. At present, there are more than 2 million unemployed persons in France. Mr. Mitterrand has taken no steps to enable them to earn a living and support their families.

In foreign policy, Mr. Mitterrand leans more to the right than his predecessor did. Under his leadership, France has taken the side of the United States in many international issues. He supports the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe. He travelled to Great Britain to join that country's prime minister in supporting the deployment of winged missiles by the United States in Europe. He has supported the plans of the United States to disrupt the existing balance of nuclear forces in Europe between the two blocs. He has expelled Soviet diplomats from France.

In his policy toward the countries that were once part of the so called "overseas France," Mr. Mitterrand has gone further than his predecessor. He sent 4,000 troops to Chad in Africa and committed armed intervention in the internal affairs of that country. He also sent troops to Lebanon and sent aircraft to conduct "punitive" bombing raids against the patriots of that country.

In summary, in both its domestic and foreign policies, France under the government of a "socialist" president is no different than a France under a capitalist president. To the contrary, it leans even more to the right.

Following more than 2 years with the socialist party in power, France is still a capitalist country, still imperialist France.

More than 2 years ago, when Mr. Mitterrand entered the Elysee Palace, the French people cheered the fact that "leftwing forces control political power." Today, they are beginning to understand that "political power (capitalism) controls leftwing forces (socialism)."

The situation in France once again proves that the following viewpoint of those who support Marxism-Leninism is totally correct: "Democratic socialism (the 2nd International) is the housekeeper for capitalism."

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END